

*Christmas Book Issue*

# THE CANADIAN FORUM

Twenty-Fourth Year of Issue

December, 1944

**Saskatchewan's Socialists  
Steam Ahead**

MORRIS C. SHUMIATCHER



**Can the Liberals Hold Quebec**

HERBERT F. QUINN



**The Poetry of E. J. Pratt**

L. A. MACKAY



**Three Poems**

A. J. M. Smith

**Christmas Book  
Section**

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## O CANADA

"Where did you learn your profession?" asked Mr. McMurray. "What do you mean by profession?" demanded the witness. "You know what I mean. What should I call it, art? I don't know much about robbery, outside of the legal profession."

(Hon. E. J. McMurray, K.C., cross-questioning a former convict.—Winnipeg Free Press)

Eleven women who have formed an Equality of Service Organization have volunteered for front-line duty as reinforcement—provided that Prime Minister King will release a sufficient number of draftees to "keep the home fires burning until the women return."

(Globe and Mail)

## ONE GATHERS ONE LIKED IT

F. D. L. Smith writes: "Having seen the first showing of *Noel Coward's This Happy Breed*, one thanks those who brought this excellent film to Toronto. One likes it because it is not plastered with rouge and lipstick, because the women in it are not all glamor girls, because of the restraint, understatement and quaint English humor which characterize the lines. One approves of it because of what we may call the naturalness which replaces the artificiality of too many Hollywood shows. One enjoys it because it presents the life of an unimportant English family between 1919 and 1939 . . .

(Fourth Column, Globe and Mail)

Toronto police commission . . . refused the application of Frank Tabuchi . . . Canadian-born Japanese, for permission to operate a radio repair service in North Toronto.

Tabuchi told the board: "I think that in a country like Canada which is fighting for democracy I should be given more consideration." "You write and tell the holy father in Japan to call off the war and then we will consider it," Judge Barton replied. (Toronto Star)

Ottawa, Nov. 3.—Mrs. Lillias Cameron, chairman of the play-writing contest of the Ottawa Drama League Workshop, announced yesterday that a prize of \$100 will be awarded to the writer of the best Canadian one-act play entered in the Workshop's annual play-writing competition.

The prize, donated by H. S. Southam, publisher of the Ottawa Citizen, "is a refutation of the idea that there is no incentive offered the arts in Canada," Mrs. Cameron said. (Hamilton Spectator)

A bank clerk, who said that his only reward so far for killing an armed bandit and preventing a bank holdup more than two years ago had been dismissal from his \$11-a-week job, yesterday sued the Canadian Bankers Association for \$10,000 standing reward offered by the association for acts or information leading to arrest and conviction for bank robbery, and heard as the association's objection to paying the plea that since the bandit had been shot dead, there was no arrest, no conviction and therefore no reward. (Montreal Herald)

They shine by night. Eyes up! There's new beauty above the beltline . . . in the costume-making, fashion-making blouse. Brilliant as a jewel! . . . it shines at the theatre, it glows over the dinner table . . . it cuts a figure on the dance floor. It goes in for new dressy notes . . . in the shirred neckline, the more formalized shirt-maker, the Chinese influence, the glitter touch of sequins. And it's in catch-eye colors to team dramatically with suave dark skirts. This quintette of lovelies gives you some idea of the excitement in the Blouse Department, Fourth Floor, Eaton's.

(Advertisement, Globe and Mail)

Major-General Odlum is a new kind of diplomat. When a man enters the diplomatic service he is supposed to shed out-spokenness and talk in tactful, unoffending language hardly ever conveying openly the meaning he actually wants to put across. (Lethbridge Herald)

After the failure of the Newfoundland banks in 1894, the Canadian banks took over and today Canadian currency is legal tender and Newfoundland is a part of the Canadian monetary system. Newfoundland, also, is a part of the United Church of Canada.

(Winnipeg Free Press Editorial)

This month's prize of six months' subscription goes to A. D. Longman, Winnipeg, Man. All contributions should contain original clipping, date and name of publication from which taken.

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# THE CANADIAN FORUM

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## Western Front

At the moment of writing it is too early to judge whether General Eisenhower's large-scale attack along the whole western front of Germany is going to result in a breakthrough before Christmas. The Germans seem resolved to fight it out west of the Rhine, and on the critical part of their front, the area of the approaches to Cologne and the Ruhr valley and eventually to Berlin, they are resisting desperately. In Canada we are hearing much about the lack of manpower, but Eisenhower and the American armies seem to be chiefly concerned about shortages of munitions. The fall of Aachen was delayed by lack of munitions. Complaints are also being made in the United States about the absence of any major offensive by the Russians on the vital part of their front, i.e., in the Warsaw area. If a breakthrough should be made on the Rhine front it might lead to a sudden German collapse. But it is probably safer to count on severe fighting next spring and summer.

## The American Election

Of the 86 million Americans who, according to the census, are over twenty-one years of age, some 46 million voted in the presidential election. This was not as good a figure as in 1940 when almost 50 million voted. Evidently there is still plenty of work for organizations like the P.A.C. to do in getting out the vote. The election resulted in a landslide for Roosevelt in the Electoral College, but the popular vote was more closely divided than it has been since 1932. The president has a Democratic majority in both Houses of Congress, which was hardly expected; and a great many of the bitterest isolationists have disappeared. These results were due, apparently, more than anything else to the activities of the P.A.C. in the big cities. President Roosevelt has once again been supported by a kind of American Popular Front.

But while labor has thus been very successful, it needs to be remembered that the P.A.C. was mainly a C.I.O. organization, that A.F. of L. and C.I.O. are as far apart as ever, and that there is still no prospect of a political party which can be controlled by workers and farmers. Labor will now be able to safeguard the Wagner Act, and labor-baiting will not be quite such a popular sport among politicians and newspaper proprietors as it was in the last two or three years. But in the domestic sphere the main question of American politics is what is to be done at the end of the war with the millions of government property in the form of manufacturing plants; and on this question there is no sign that big business is going to meet with any opposition to its wishes at all. In the sphere of foreign affairs labor has no policy; and there is no sign that the Roosevelt policy of building up a Europe of the upper classes and the Catholic church devoted to "law and order" is going to meet with any effective American opposition.

Under Roosevelt there will be a genuine effort to co-operate with Britain and Russia in settling the affairs of the world. It is encouraging that the American people refused to be swept off their feet by the anti-communist campaign of the Republicans. But American relations with Russia have not

been improving of late. And, however cordial may be the relations of Roosevelt and Churchill, American big business is determined on a hard peace for Great Britain. President Roosevelt's fourth term is likely to be the most difficult of all his terms of office.

## Conference in Chicago

Developments at the International Civil Aviation Conference have been the most disturbing of any world conference yet held to shape post-war policy. Bretton Woods and Dumbarton Oaks raised doubts; but in neither instance did those doubts strike so deeply as at Chicago.

The shadow under which the conference fell with the eleventh hour refusal of the USSR to participate may be darker than generally admitted. True, the Soviet withdrawal did not radically alter the aviation picture because the USSR has never been greatly interested in international airlines, and there is every indication that after the war she will concentrate on developing air transport within her own vast territory. But there has been a tendency to dismiss as a rather flimsy excuse her reason for withdrawal, namely, an unwillingness to negotiate with countries such as Spain, Portugal and Switzerland, who have maintained anti-Soviet policies. In so doing, a significant warning from the Kremlin may have been missed. Unlike Washington and London, Moscow has never played ball on any account with Franco's Spain. The Chicago conference was the first important widening of the basis of the United Nations to include "undesirable" neutrals in post-war planning. If the Soviet protest was primarily on this account, we shall hear more of it.

But there is cause for greater apprehension in the conference itself because the evidence is clear-cut. The American opposition to any international air body with teeth is in direct defiance of the dearly-bought experience of the last 30 years. In 1914 it may have been plausible, though no less mistaken, to argue for an international organization with powers restricted to technical questions. But this is 1944, and to exclude any consideration of economic and political questions beyond the "consultative" level, is to fall a generation behind the times. The American stand was, in essence, that she should be able to make full use of her dominant position in the number of transport planes and personnel. It was frankly based on the antiquated economic premise that to him who has it shall be given the privilege to shape policy primarily to meet his own interests. The organization of international air transport is one of the cornerstones upon which world peace and security must be built. That organization can never be achieved by giving almost free rein to aggressive, competitive forces such as American airlines.

The working out of the "compromise" at Chicago, which in the third week of the conference appeared likely to be a virtual acceptance of the American plan, is of particular interest to Canadians. The stand which Britain took was essentially that advanced by Canada when her draft international air convention was tabled in the House of Commons last March 17. At Chicago the Hon. C. D. Howe presented

revised Canadian proposals which were credited with bridging the gap between the British and American positions. Some agreement is better than none, for the latter would have tragic consequences. But the real significance of partial agreement, and therefore the wisdom of the Canadian proposals which helped to bring it about, cannot yet be assessed.

## Army Reinforcement Problem

"Unity of public opinion was needed behind our appeal, and as it turned out, we got the opposite," said General McNaughton, explaining to parliament the decision to send non-volunteering draftees overseas up to the limit required by failure to fill necessary replacement quotas with volunteers.

Public opinion in this case represents a reflex response to the most fanatical and unscrupulous campaign ever launched in Canada, carried on by a section of the English-language press that had made up its mind from the first, whether from party or other motives, that it would stop short of nothing that could stampede the country into conscription of manpower for army service overseas. It was assisted by a certain type of army officer, whose behavior was largely responsible for the state of mind that has kept large numbers of draftees from "going active." Both of these elements showed themselves indifferent to any consequences save the attainment of theoretical "justice" or the slaking of their intolerant hatred for Quebec. Those in and out of the army who encouraged the use of the smear-word "zombi" and stirred up contempt and ridicule of the draftees, and those who saw to it that this attitude had practical expression in the training camps, have much to answer for.

Almost the first attempts we have seen to examine the psychological problem thus created are contained in two articles appearing in *Saturday Night* for November 25th, one by Erich Koch and the other by Major H. G. L. Strange, which we commend to our readers. General McNaughton was quite aware of the nature of the problem, and hoped that he might have the help of the press, the public and commanding officers in solving it. He did not get it. This has not altered his opinion, nor that of Mr. King, that the voluntary method is best in this country. But we can scarcely hope now for realistic measures.

However, we may well remind ourselves of certain facts which have been almost lost sight of in the heat and bluster. At the outset of this war, all political parties were agreed that, in the light of history and quite apart from abstract merits, the voluntary system was the most likely to secure the best results in the raising of a Canadian army. Many believed that conscription was the "fairer" method; many others believed that volunteers would make the better fighters. But these views, being theoretical, were less important than the facts of our national composition and history. Those facts still exist. Also, it is a fact that the system we then adopted has enabled Canada to make a worthy contribution to the military effort.

The other important fact is that, in spite of an air force, a navy and an industrial and agricultural effort vastly greater in proportion to our population than in the last war, we have had no over-all plan for the distribution of our manpower. We permitted all these activities to grow without reference to the possibility of maintenance on the original scale. Even all-out compulsory service would not have assured balanced maintenance without a plan; with such a plan, a wholly voluntary system could have assured it. We

rejected conscription of material resources and of men for overseas military service, the one because those in control of our economy considered that this would interfere too greatly with their interests, and the other because of the facts stated above. But we went on expanding our army without reference to our manpower requirements for the other phases of our war effort. And now it is by no means certain that any method—voluntary appeals, sending draftees overseas by compulsion, or wholesale conscription for overseas service—will prove a permanent solution. It would be interesting to know just why, and on what advice or through what pressure, the government consented to the alterations in our pattern of army command and disposal which began to take shape more than a year ago. We may well remember, also, that those who from the outset have resisted any real conscription of our material resources have been the loudest in demanding ever greater and greater military effort under conscription of manpower for overseas service.

First consideration in meeting the present situation must be the welfare and efficiency of our overseas forces. But neither interested motives nor delusions of grandeur should blind us to facts, nor influence the methods adopted to arrive at a solution.

## New Deal in Nova Scotia?

We are gratified to note that Mr. Justice Carroll, the commissioner investigating Dosco's steel plant closing at Trenton, agrees with our opinion expressed in the October issue that most Canadians would back up the contentions of the union. "I am afraid," he declared, "that the judgment of this country must inevitably be . . . that Dosco did not want those two departments to survive and purposely avoided any avenue which might help them in their extremity." Even more important, the commissioner expounded some principles that badly needed stressing. "Corporations," he said, "are given charters not alone to make profits for their shareholders but to give service. . . . The public . . . are shareholders in this huge corporation and as such, Public Authority, those shareholders' representatives, have a right to know what is going on, especially when a crisis is blowing up." The union is now pressing for implementation by the Nova Scotia government of the commission's recommendations. These would involve a complete overhauling of the province's company legislation to make industry responsible to the people and so "lay the foundation for a new era of industrial development and industrial relations within the province." Meanwhile, according to press reports, management and employees of Dosco's coal division will present a joint brief to the Carroll Commission on that phase of the industry's operations. Looks as if Dosco were beginning to recognize the virtues of co-operation!

## Immigration From Britain

Among the people whom our Ontario prime minister did not meet, presumably, on his recent trip to England was Mr. R. R. Kuczynski, the leading authority on population questions in the English-speaking world. In the October number of *International Affairs*, the organ of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, is an article on world population problems by Mr. Kuczynski which should be drawn to the attention of Colonel Drew. It contains a great many interesting observations such as that, while at the outbreak of the war the population of Russia was only half as large as that of the rest of Europe, by the next forty years it will likely

be greater than that of all the rest of Europe. Mr. Kuczynski is especially concerned about the population of Britain. "The problem of an impending population decline is more serious for England than for any other country in the world. . . . Since the beginning of this century the net reproduction rate of France has declined only from 0.98 to 0.88 while the net reproduction rate of England and Wales has dropped from about 1.30 to 0.80. . . . The population will be much smaller in 1950 than if there had been no war and the inescapable decline will start from a much lower level. . . . Nothing perhaps shows more clearly the complete lack of understanding of the demographic position of England than the prevailing attitude towards immigration and emigration. Immigration is considered to be undesirable, while to promote emigration is accepted as a sound policy. It has not yet been realized that the great chance of peopling the overseas empire with British and Irish emigrants was lost in the nineteenth century. Between 1836 and 1900 there was a net emigration of 8½ million people from Great Britain and Ireland, but the other areas of the empire had a net immigration of only 2½ millions. It was the United States and not the Empire which attracted the emigrants from Great Britain and Ireland. Canada and Australia, to be sure, will need immigrants. But to encourage Englishmen to emigrate overseas would be a suicidal policy." Mr. Kuczynski is at present a member of the British Royal Commission which is studying population problems. When it has reported it is highly unlikely that the British authorities will feel like encouraging that suicidal policy.

## Post-War Education

We came across some interesting figures the other day in the *New York Times* — about the growth of education in the United States. In the American armed forces in the last war one man in every four had had only four grades of school. Today the proportion is one in every thirty. In the last war high-school graduates in the armed forces were one in thirty; today they are one in four. Men with one year of college were seven in one hundred; today they are thirty-eight in one hundred. Men with more than one year in college were five in one hundred, today they are sixteen in one hundred. The *Times* writer pointed out that the increase in the output of motor cars was the index usually taken to show the phenomenal development of the United States after the last war; an annual output of 900,000 in 1915 had risen by 1929 to one of 4,500,000: a five times increase. But the number of college students in the same period rose practically as rapidly. Figures for Canada would not be so high in proportion to our population, but would show roughly the same picture. If the number of students increases after this war at anything like the same rate, the providing of educational facilities is going to be one of our chief post-war problems. And the most essential of facilities consists of teachers. What are our authorities doing to make the profession of teaching attractive enough to draw into it and keep in it a sufficient number of men and women of ability?

## Religious Education in Ontario

The cry of regimentation has been hurled at socialists for some time now. It is indeed true that socialists would take away the freedom of the rich and powerful to exploit the poor and helpless, just as the policeman curbs the free-

dom of the aggressive drunkard to punch anybody he chooses. But what of those who would regiment our minds and beliefs? Is this regimentation not akin to that practised by Nazi Germany?

Premier Drew in his speech from the throne last February proclaimed that he would introduce religious education into the schools. People waited to see what was meant by this. There was grave uneasiness in the minds of many wise people, both Christian and non-Christian. The Secondary School Teachers' English and History Association, to its eternal credit, passed a unanimous resolution urging caution in the introduction of religious teaching since, in schools where many religious sects are represented, religious teaching could be a dividing force. And, they added, it is "contrary to the spirit of free enquiry." Presbyterians were gravely concerned by the taking over of religion by the State. Unitarians and other sects were apprehensive.

In the late summer of 1944 it was announced that religious education would be postponed for one year in secondary schools since a suitable textbook had not yet been found. A manual for public school teachers was issued however and the course is getting under way in our public schools. The manual is exclusively Christian. It is not just Bible stories but doctrine. Nor does it teach the fundamental agreement of all religions on ethical conduct and the brotherhood of man. Indeed those who are willing to make political capital out of religion presumably would not want this fundamental unity stressed. No child of Jewish or unorthodox Christian parents could possibly participate in these classes if the teacher follows her manual. Some teachers will manage to make something worthwhile out of the course; but they are the kind who through their own personalities and example teach brotherly love without ever mentioning it.

True, exemption from the classes is given if the parents wish. The Children's Aid Society will take action in cases of physical cruelty to children. But against mental cruelty children have no protection. To be isolated from one's group, not to belong, to walk from the room alone when everybody else stays behind, to be jeered at in the school yard or on the way home as a "dirty Jew" or a "dirty Catholic"—the inevitable consequence of stressing religious differences—can a child suffer much worse? Any reputable psychologist knows that a sense of security, of "belonging," is quite as essential as good food to a child's mental and physical health. Surely parents will rise up to protest this crime against our children? The Jewish mother who told us that her little boy is shunned by the children on the street now because "the teacher said the Jews murdered Jesus," the Christian mother who taught her child that God is love and then heard him say that the visiting minister in his grade 7 had been telling them how all liars would perish in eternal fire and brimstone—cannot these two mothers get together to stop this abuse? Or have we no longer the right to teach our children our own beliefs?

And what are the motives behind this move? Many sincere Christians believe that some good will ensue; but there are people who would not scruple to use religion to divide the common people of this country, to try to set Protestant against Catholic and both against Jew and Agnostic. Ill will, discord and hate are tragically easy to stir up. It is an ugly picture.

Freedom of Worship we were promised. We have to fight for it, at home here as well as overseas. Without it the other three freedoms are a mockery.

## On to Ottawa— Or Back to the People?

*John Marshall*

► OUT OF THE CONFUSION which characterizes the political scene in Canada two things emerge with some clarity. One is the fact that Tweedledum and Tweedledee politics between the two old parties is about played out. Both are losing support so rapidly that they must soon stand or fall together as a united front against the rising forces of socialism. Some kind of Liberal-Tory merger is now inevitable. The other is the fact that the CCF is rapidly becoming the alternative to the two old parties, and will shortly be in a position to challenge such a combination of old parties. The CCF has a good chance to emerge from the next federal election with more seats than either of the old parties. A CCF government at Ottawa is a possibility in 1945 or 1946.

The CCF is therefore faced, for the first time, with the responsibilities of power. These are not responsibilities to be accepted lightly, or in a spirit of over-confidence. Power, in a democratic-socialist sense, is something that resides in the people. Unless the people are fully behind the government, with a clear understanding of where to go and how to get there, and of their own responsibilities in the process, the "power" of a democratic-socialist government is a myth. Before the CCF goes ahead and makes up its mind above all else to win the next election, it had better stop to ask itself if it has such power in it and behind it. If it hasn't, then to win the federal field at this time may only frustrate the CCF and disappoint the people.

I am not primarily concerned about the CCF being unable to weather the post-war chaos, which will be bad enough. I am concerned with the more basic issue of the relationship between the CCF and the Canadian people, which if positive enough will enable the CCF to weather any kind of chaos.

The issue is not whether or not the CCF should attain power; but rather a question of how and by what means it works toward its ultimate ends in this immediate situation. (In relation to ultimate ends, power in itself is merely a by-product.) Otherwise stated: if the CCF conducts the proper kind of education and organization between now and the election, and gains power, well and good; if the CCF conducts the wrong kind of organization and education (if any) and gains power, the result will inevitably be bad.

The immediate issue is complicated by the fact that the political situation in Canada is so fluid that anything can happen. That is, if the CCF merely rested on its oars, it might still gain power. And if power is thrust upon the CCF, it will have to accept that power fully and entirely, wield it toughly, realistically, efficiently, with all the strength, conviction and courage it can muster. The problem is not one of whether or not to accept power (that *must* be done, sooner or later), but of how to prepare for the responsibilities of power, and of how to educate the people into awareness of their collective responsibility for the planning, execution and maintenance of socialist measures. If this is not done, power may frustrate its own ends, the socialist experiment may perish by default, and the original lack of vision proved only too conclusively — and too late.

The great thing which the CCF has done is to clarify the political issue. We now have in Canada a sharp and clear division between the progressive forces and the reactionary forces, with the latter almost completely on the defensive.

This is the preliminary from which to build, and in the building political power may not necessarily be the immediate next step. The next step may be rather to further clarify the progressive side of the issue by an intensive educational program (a) among the immediate CCF membership, (b) among the people at large.

Most people in the CCF (either blindly or optimistically) underestimate the degree of planned organization, collective discipline, and public education needed for the establishment of democratic socialism. Three things above all are necessary for the success of a socialist party:

(1) A nucleus of trained leadership, composed of men throughout the country of unquestioned integrity and un-failing purpose, devoting their lives to the struggle for socialism and determined to let no setback interfere with its final success;

(2) A technical and research staff with branches in every province, composed of experts in political science, technology and economic planning, and able to provide the leaders with expert knowledge for every political or economic eventuality;

(3) A fully educated public, accurately informed both as to the essentials of socialism and the steps necessary to establish it, wide awake to their responsibilities as democratic citizens, and ready to defend their democratic rights and to challenge any possible abuse of administrative power. (There should be the freest possible intercourse and co-operation between leaders, experts, and general public, each group doing its best to keep the other group on its toes.)

If these are the prerequisites, how far is the CCF from the conditions necessary for the success of a socialist party? The CCF can win the next election on organization alone. But, neglecting education, it cannot achieve its ultimate ends, whether it win or no. The CCF has done good work, in many cases splendid work, in education. It began mainly as an educational movement. But it has evolved few techniques of education markedly different from those of the old parties, and even these have not been used consistently or with a full recognition of their importance. In the last few years, moreover, the original emphasis on education has been largely superseded by a growing emphasis on organization *per se*.

In proper perspective, education should not merely accompany, but precede organization. If the CCF were to reverse its present trend, it might lose the immediate opportunity of political power. But it would be certain at least of being the official opposition party, and this may be the wiser alternative at the present time. Even in opposition, the CCF would exert a considerable measure of political power, and a term in opposition would mean an opportunity to gain valuable experience, to expand and intensify its educational program, to further develop techniques of social planning, and to align immediate policies more closely with ultimate goals.

The result of the Alberta election, though it has more significance provincially than federally, does point among other things to the failure of the CCF to educate the people adequately into an understanding of its program. The people, in other words, thought of the CCF, not as a socialist alternative, but as a "progressive" alternative, and they already had a "progressive" administration in Alberta: hence why vote CCF? Alberta was a real test of the CCF educational program because there it had to make headway not against the old-line parties, but against the younger Social Crediters, with their deceptive brand of pseudo-progressivism. The decisive defeat of the CCF is evidence of inadequacy, not so much politically as educationally, and should have caused much head-scratching from coast to coast.

In its present campaign the CCF is spending too much money on organization, too little on education. I am reminded of a man so intent on catching a train that he throws away the tools which he needs at his destination. Would it not be better for him to go back, to collect and re-fashion his tools, while preparing for tomorrow's train?

## Saskatchewan's Socialists Steam Ahead

*Morris C. Shumatcher*

(A Report of Saskatchewan Legislation)

► IN SEVENTEEN DAYS Premier Tommy Douglas's C.C.F. government moved Saskatchewan's statute books to the topmost shelf of Anglo-Saxondom's legislative library. What is more, he moved his party high in the estimation of a wary electorate that is still a little dazed by the novel phenomenon of a political party that took its promises seriously enough to copy its election pamphlets into the law books in less than five months after it came to power. The socialist program in Saskatchewan has been launched vigorously and unequivocally. First session of the Tenth Legislature was devoted to two principal types of legislation. First are those statutes which may be regarded as the prerequisites of the development of a socialized state, and these include the establishment of the four new departments of Co-operation and Co-operative Development, of Labor, of Social Welfare and of Reconstruction and Rehabilitation. Secondly, there were enacted those statutes of immediate social and economic necessity, designed to operate within the existing economic structure of the province. Only the vaguest outline of the most important statutes is possible in a preliminary resumé of the very considerable accomplishments of the Saskatchewan Legislature to date.

First, what bases have been laid for socialism in the province? Saskatchewan's co-operatives have probably enjoyed greater success than any on this continent. With the object of developing socialism from this virile co-operative embryo, the Saskatchewan government created the Department of Co-operation and Co-operatives whose duty will be the encouragement and assistance of co-operative enterprises among persons and groups desirous of working on a "non-profit co-operative self-help basis." A research and information service is to supplement and co-ordinate the work of the province's growing band of co-operators.

Foundations were laid for the development of a scheme of state medicine by *The Health Services Act*, and an amendment to *The Public Health Act*. The former creates *The Health Services Planning Commission*, whose responsibility it will be to develop in detail a scheme for the organization of "health regions," each of which is to be provided with the full-time health services of medical and sanitary staffs. Although of the "skeleton" type of legislation, *The Health Services Act* touches upon every problem of state medicine, including medicinal needs, inventories, a compulsory urban health scheme, medical training, post-graduate study, research, clinical and university facilities; it promises interesting experimentation in state-planned and controlled medicine. By an amendment to *The Mental Hygiene Act*, concrete benefits are now extended to all residents of Saskatchewan admitted to institutions, and care and treatment are provided at government expense.

To extend the basis of public ownership, there has been added to *The Department of Natural Resources Act*, a part

endowing the minister with power to proceed with the expropriation of lands and works in the province, and to use and develop them as business enterprises in the interests of the people of Saskatchewan. Although the term "expropriation" may arouse unsavory associations, it is to be noted that the principles according to which compensation is to be paid are orthodox, that the representations which may be made by interested parties are adequate, and that the judicial machinery for purposes of arbitration in disputed cases has been preserved.

Similar in nature to the principle of taxing wild lands is Saskatchewan's new *Mineral Taxation Act*, 1944. Designed on the one hand, to discourage the speculative purchase and tenure of vast tracts of potentially productive mineral lands, and on the other hand to facilitate governmental acquisition of mineral deposits for public development and use, the statute provides for the compilation of a modern *Doomsday Book*, in which may be recorded the holdings and valuations of all mineral lands, and according to which a five-cent acreage tax will be imposed. The licensing of fisheries and the establishment of a *Fur Marketing Agency* indicate a move toward the public control, and perhaps the public participation in and ownership of at least two other industries almost entirely dependent upon the natural resources of the province.

By an act of the new Legislature, *The Saskatchewan Government Insurance Office* was established for the purpose of carrying on the business of practically every type of commercial insurance. Constituted a corporation sole is the Insurance Manager through whom all business is to be transacted. Life insurance accounts which, it is contemplated, should be self-supporting, are to be separated from other accounts, and investments are secured by a provision guaranteeing payments by the revenues of the province.

As a measure of economy, and to give concrete illustration to the potential efficiency of public ownership and administration, the Saskatchewan Legislature passed *The Purchasing Agency Act*, 1944. This act establishes a central agency managed by the Director of Purchases who, with the assistance of advisory committees, will acquire all supplies and materials for governmental use. The saving expected to accrue from this reorganization is estimated at several hundred thousand dollars. Practical and economical socialization is proceeding in Saskatchewan.

At the same time, legislation for the more immediate enhancement of living standards was enacted by the new government. Described as the most comprehensive codification, and the most salutary extension of trade union law in Canada, the Saskatchewan *Trade Union Act*, sponsored by the Hon. C. C. Williams, head of the newly-created Department of Labor, is designed to guarantee all employees the right, not only to organize, but to make their organization effective through mandatory collective bargaining. It is therefore no accident that more pressure was brought to bear by interested lobbyists and their agents against this bill than against any other, for it is labor's declaration of independence. Here, the democratic principle of government of, by and for the people is echoed in section 3 which declares that "employees shall have the right to organize in . . . trade unions, and to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, and the representatives designated . . . by the majority of employees in a unit . . . shall be the exclusive representatives of all employees in such unit for the purpose of bargaining collectively."

*The Trade Union Act* accords legislative recognition to collective bargaining agreements; it stabilizes the labor contract period at one year; it provides for the compulsory

check-off for the collection of union dues; and it stipulates for the closed shop. In addition, the act defines and penalizes the standard unfair labor practices of both employers and employees; it provides *Boards of Conciliation* for the speedy settlement of industrial disputes; and it establishes a *Labor Relations Board* to administer the whole streamlined collective bargaining machine. Although the procedure to be followed in bringing applications before the seven-man *Labor Relations Board* remains to be outlined by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council, it would appear that hearings for the certification of bargaining units and agencies will proceed along much the same lines as those pioneered by the American *National Labor Relations Board*, and followed in large measure by its Ontario counterpart.

The Legislature took great care to confine the operation of this act to subject matter within the constitutional competence of the provincial government, and it may be said that operating within the sphere of a province, there is little doubt of its validity under *The B.N.A. Act*, 1867. It is the general rule of law that the orders and the procedure of an administrative body such as this may be reviewed by the courts, who are charged with the resolution of constitutional and jurisdictional doubts. Section 15 of *The Trade Union Act*, 1944, completely (and, it would seem successfully) ousts the right of the courts to inquire into and review the activities of the *Labor Relations Board* which, in virtue of this section, may not only exercise the powers conferred upon it by the act, but in addition, may define finally and without contradiction the precise nature and extent of these powers. This derogation from the reviewing power of the courts would seem almost paradoxical in view of the fact that all orders of the board must be filed in the Court of King's Bench, whereupon they become "enforceable as a judgment or order of the Court"; so although the law-enforcing machinery of the courts is made available for the execution of the board's orders, they are rendered powerless to grant redress in cases in which the board may have acted arbitrarily or in excess of its jurisdiction, the right of appeal also being denied. Section 15 was doubtless passed for the purpose of short-circuiting protracted litigation which only the long pockets of employers are able to finance. But however undesirable expensive litigation may appear to trade unions, less desirable still may be administrative action which knows the bounds neither of lack of jurisdiction nor of unconstitutionality. Notwithstanding what may be regarded as a substantive defect of the statute, *The Trade Unions Act*, 1944, will undoubtedly conduce to the benefit of employees in Saskatchewan, and to labor throughout Canada. Mention should also be made of the detailed *Annual Holidays Act*, 1944, which assures to all employees in the province a holiday of two weeks with pay in every year.

Anticipating dislocations of industry following the current war, and with the object of "investigating economic conditions" and promoting "the economic interests of the people," the Saskatchewan Legislature created the Department of Reconstruction and Rehabilitation. It is expected that this Department will work in close collaboration with the Dominion Department of Veterans' Affairs, and it would appear that the collective assumption of responsibility and the decentralization of interested control which are affected by this act, together with the half-million dollar loan which may be raised for rehabilitation purposes, will benefit the veterans and industrial and other workers requiring sympathetic assistance in the immediate post-war period. The newly-established Department of Social Welfare, in addition to administering the existing statutes relating to Child Welfare, the aged, the blind and the delinquent, is charged with administration of the recently-enacted *Social Aid Act*,

1944, which replaces the *Direct Relief Acts* of former years. The assumption of a new name does not alter the stigmatized character of direct relief; whilst out of sympathy with an economy which makes relief for social aid necessary, the Saskatchewan government reorganized this department also for the purpose of more adequately meeting the immediate needs of the post-war emergency period.

The small, isolated schoolhouse of the prairies has long been a problem which busses and other transport facilities are now able to solve. Following the Alberta example of enlarged school districts, the Saskatchewan government passed *The Larger School Units Act*, 1944, establishing the machinery which the residents of two or more school districts may employ to consolidate their schools and pool their resources. An amendment to *The Local Government Board Act*, 1940, is designed to assist school districts which have been unable to extricate themselves from their insolvency of the 1930's, by means of refinancing, consolidation and cancellation. Also designed to effect a definite improvement of the educational facilities of the province is an amendment to *The School Act*, which guarantees to Canada's longest-suffering professionals a minimum annual wage of \$1200.00 for holders of permanent teaching certificates, and a minimum of \$1000.00 per annum to all other teachers in the province.

Since 1943 the position of prairie farm debtors, never an envious one, grew increasingly uncertain and confused. First came the adverse Privy Council decision on the Alberta *Debt Adjustment Act*, 1937, which, together with the similar debt adjusting statutes of Saskatchewan and Manitoba, were knocked by it into so many curial cocked hats. Then came *The Farmers' Creditors Arrangement Act*, 1943, and supplementary Dominion wartime orders-in-council designed to retain efficient agrarian producers on the land. At the same time, provincial legislatures hastened to fashion new legislation out of the judicial ribbons salvaged from the remnants of provincial debt adjusting machinery left by the Privy Council. The Saskatchewan *Farm Security Act*, 1944, is the most comprehensive piece of debt legislation in Canada. It incorporates *The Limitation of Civil Rights Act*, 1940, which regulates the proportion of a farmer's crop made available for the payment of his debts, and, in case of disagreement between debtor and creditor, which provides for a hearing and a determination by the *Provincial Mediation Board*.

The new, and especially controversial portion of *The Farm Security Act* states that in any year in which a mortgagor or purchaser of farm lands in Saskatchewan suffers a crop failure through causes beyond his control (*crop failure* being defined as a failure of crops grown on land mortgaged or purchased to the extent that the sum realized from it together with all other income amounts to less than a sum equal to \$6.00 per acre sown to grain in any particular year on that land), no principal will be payable to the creditor in that year, but payment will be postponed for one year; an amount equal to 4% of the principal owing, or equal to the percentage of interest stipulated for in the agreement (whichever may be greater) will be deducted from the principal, but the interest will accrue on the full sum as though there had been no postponement of the date of payment, and no deduction of the principal owing. Attorney-General Corman did not have an easy time to bring his party's promises within the distributive terms of sections 91 and 92 of *The B.N.A. Act*, 1867, which assigns the subject-matter of "Interest" to the exclusive legislative competence of the Parliament of Canada. Strong doubts were raised by the Liberal opposition as to the constitutionality of these provisions, the validity of which only the Privy Council can (and probably will) determine. *The Farm*

Security Act also protects against foreclosure, sale and seizure the homesteads of the farmers of Saskatchewan to the extent of 160 acres, provided that the farm-mortgagor concerned resides on the land or, if not residing there, that the homestead is necessary for his maintenance and support. Supplementing this statute is an important amendment to *The Exemptions Act*, 1940, which affords complete protection for such portion of the crops of all farm-debtors as will be sufficient to pay their harvesting costs, to meet their farming expenses for the period of a year, and to provide an adequate living for themselves and their families until another crop may be grown and harvested.

More and more are beginning to understand what Tommy Douglas means by a *People's Government*.

## Can the Liberals Hold Quebec?

Herbert F. Quinn

► THE RECENT CABINET CRISIS culminating in the resignation of Hon. J. L. Ralston and the appointment of General A. G. L. McNaughton as Minister of National Defense clearly indicates that the war and conscription question is going to be a major issue in the coming federal election, probably overshadowing all other issues. The bitter controversy now raging across the country serves to underline the fact, made apparent by the plebiscite of 1942, that there is a major cleavage between the people of Quebec and the rest of Canada, on the question of our war effort. Moreover, it is a cleavage which cuts across party lines.

The statement of Prime Minister Mackenzie King in his radio address of November 8, rejecting conscription and reaffirming his faith in the voluntary method of obtaining reinforcements for the armed forces overseas, indicates that, assuming he can carry his party with him and that the war situation does not necessitate a drastic change in policy, the Liberal Party will continue to maintain that conscription is not only unnecessary but that it would be dangerous to national unity and would retard rather than aid the war effort. Mr. King's attitude emphasizes the extent to which his party is dependent upon a solid block of Quebec seats in order to maintain control of Parliament. Although it is impossible at this time to say with any certainty what the fate of the Liberal Party in this province will be in the coming election, nevertheless an examination of the issues involved, and the nature of the opposition the Liberals will have to contend with will give us some idea of its chances of success.

If the voluntary system of reinforcements can be maintained the strongest argument of the Liberal Party will be, as it has been in every election, provincial or federal, in this province since 1939, that the maintenance of that party in power is the best assurance against conscription of manpower for service overseas. "We are the rampart between you and conscription," said the Hon. Ernest Lapointe, former Minister of Justice, in a radio address (October 9, 1939), during the provincial election campaign of 1939. Another point the Liberals can be expected to emphasize is the enactment of the Family Allowance Bill, an extremely popular measure among a people to whom the maintenance and protection of the family is a fundamental principle of their social philosophy.

The success of the Liberals will depend on the nature and strength of the political forces opposing them. As far as can be ascertained at the moment, in addition to the

Nationalists the only parties likely to be of any significance are the Progressive Conservative and the C.C.F. Due to the close relationship between federal and provincial parties and issues a brief analysis of the results of the provincial election of August last will assist us in formulating some estimate of the probable strength of the different parties in the forthcoming election.

Although the Union Nationale won the election nevertheless the Liberals obtained the largest vote. Unofficial figures taken from the local press show that the approximate percentages of the total vote obtained by each party were as follows: Liberal 39, Union Nationale 36, Bloc Populaire 15, C.C.F. 3, the Social Credit Party, L.P.P. and independents making up the remainder. Both the Bloc Populaire and the Union Nationale received their support almost completely from the French Canadian vote. Although the Liberals received a fair proportion of the French vote, the most significant fact of all was that the English-speaking vote (approximately 18% of the total electorate) went overwhelmingly to that party. In practically every constituency where there was an English-speaking majority, such as Notre Dame de Grace, St. Ann, Outremont and Westmount-St. George, the Liberal vote was outstanding. There is evidence to show that many English-speaking voters who would ordinarily vote Conservative or C.C.F. switched at the last minute to the Liberals, due to the belief that the Liberal Party was the only pro-war party which had any chance of obtaining enough seats to form a government, combined with the fear of the triumph of either of the French Nationalist parties. Thus, to many English-speaking voters the Liberals were the lesser of evils. Obviously these considerations will no longer hold in the coming federal election and the Liberals may be expected to lose a large part of this support to the Progressive Conservatives and the C.C.F.

The results of the election indicate that despite the economic unrest in the province the C.C.F. cannot hope to get very far with the French Canadian vote as long as the war and conscription issue overshadows all others. However, that party will no doubt increase its vote in the coming election in those English-speaking constituencies where C.C.F. followers swung over to the Liberals on the argument that the C.C.F. could not possibly elect a government in Quebec. This is borne out by the fact that a Gallup Poll taken two weeks before the election estimated the C.C.F. strength in the province at 6% against the 3% it actually received.

The Progressive Conservative Party did not contest the provincial election and apparently from the stand taken by its leader, John Bracken, demanding immediate conscription and Premier George Drew's attacks on Quebec, that party has written off Quebec, for the present at least. However, it is actively organizing and has a large following in such English-speaking constituencies as Mount Royal and St. Antoine-Westmount which were Conservative before 1940 and gave a large "Yes" vote in the plebiscite.

From the foregoing it is obvious that although the Conservatives and the C.C.F. will probably win some, perhaps most, of the English-speaking constituencies in this province, of which there are perhaps ten to twelve at the most, nevertheless the real opposition the Liberals will have to contend with will come from the forces of Nationalism as exemplified by the Union Nationale and the Bloc Populaire in the provincial election who together polled 51% of the total vote. The fate of the Liberals will depend upon the unity of the forces opposing them as well as the success of their opponents in countering the Liberal arguments on the conscription issue. It is one of the contradictions of the present situation that while criticism of the Liberal Party

among English Canadians in this and other provinces is that that party has not put conscription into force, on the other hand the Nationalists condemn the same party for having introduced it in a disguised form by putting pressure on the draftees called up under the National Selective Service regulations to "go active."

Since the statement of Premier Maurice Duplessis that the Union Nationale would not participate in the federal election the biggest question mark of Quebec politics has been what would happen to the approximately 36% of the total vote the Union Nationale obtained in the provincial election, and above all what would happen to the well-organized, well-financed Duplessis political machine. At least a partial answer to this question appears to be provided by the most important development in the province during the past few weeks, that is, the formation of the so-called Canadian Independent Party of Frederic Dorion, M.P., Charlevoix-Saguenay and J. S. Roy, M.P., Gaspé. At its opening convention held in Quebec City in October last, which was attended by more than 300 delegates, resolutions were passed calling for respect of provincial autonomy, the employment of more French Canadians in civil service positions, opposition to immigration, against economic dictatorship and the encouragement of co-operatives and small-scale industry. These were coupled with declarations against imperialism and communism.

The most significant factor about the convention is that many of the delegates were defeated Union Nationale candidates in the election of August 8. Roy is a former Conservative, and Dorion while classed as an Independent owed his election in Charlevoix-Saguenay in 1942 largely to the fact that he had Union Nationale support behind him. The close connection between the new party and the Union Nationale is obvious.

Dorion issued an appeal to all "independents" to join the new party, whose aim apparently is to bring together all individuals and groups who subscribe to the Nationalist creed, and form a solid Quebec block in the next Parliament with which one or the other of the national parties would have to come to terms in order to govern.

Any project to group all Nationalists in one party must take into consideration the probable attitude and strength of the Bloc Populaire. Although this party elected only four candidates in the provincial election, nevertheless it obtained some 15% of the total vote. This in spite of the fact that it suffered from lack of funds, lack of experienced politicians as well as poor organization. At a party caucus held early in November in Montreal M. Maxime Raymond, national leader, announced that the party would definitely enter candidates in the coming election. From press reports it seems that the new Canadian Independent Party made overtures to the Bloc at the time of its Convention. While there is no indication of any outright amalgamation, nevertheless the statement of Mr. Raymond to the press that "the door is always open to men of goodwill who wish to collaborate" seems to point to the strong likelihood of a "saw-off" at least in some constituencies in the next election. It is perhaps significant that neither of these parties announced its intention of contesting all 65 seats in Quebec. It is also noteworthy that the provincial election results show that the Union Nationale is strongest in those constituencies in the Quebec City region and further East, which is precisely the same area in which Bloc organization and strength is weakest. The mutual advantages from some sort of working agreement are readily apparent.

It is necessary to emphasize the fact that the analysis which has been presented here is based on the political situation as it exists at the present time. Between now

and polling day, however, there may be the introduction of new issues, the appearance of new parties and new coalitions or splits in existing parties. The necessity of introducing conscription, for instance, would considerably change the whole picture. In eliminating one of the Liberals strongest arguments it would greatly strengthen the Nationalists. Above all, it would sow confusion in the ranks of the Liberal Party, and might well result in Quebec Liberals breaking with the party and forming still another "Quebec block," perhaps under the leadership of Hon. P. J. A. Cardin, former Minister of Public Works, who left the King cabinet in 1942.

To sum up the political situation in Quebec, if conscription can be avoided and the Nationalist forces remain divided the Liberals stand a chance of getting a good number of seats. If conscription is introduced, however, it would almost certainly mean that the Liberal Party would lose the solid support it received from Quebec in the 1940 election. It would also mean incidentally that national unity would receive a shattering blow, from which, as the experience of 1917 shows, it would take us a long time to recover.

## Socialist Parties in South America — Part II.

*Robert Alexander*

Chile probably has the most important legal Socialist Party in Latin America. The ideas of Socialism got an early start in Chile, when they were brought over to the New World by refugees from the continental revolutions of 1848. As early as the 1880's a socialist party was organized, the Democratic Party. This organization, which elected a number of deputies, and took a leading part in organizing the trade unions, maintained fraternal relations with the pre-war Second Internationale. However it became more and more conservative and just before World War I a full-fledged Socialist Labor Party, affiliated to the Internationale, was organized. This had as its centre of strength the nitrate mining regions of Northern Chile, from whence it elected a deputy in 1913.

However, it was not until after the first World War that the radicals of Chile really became important. The Socialist Labor Party joined the Comintern, and was for a long time the only Communist Party in South America. It was very successful, controlling the trade union federation, the Federacion Obrera Chilena, and being represented by half a dozen members of the Chamber, and one Senator. The Party was very active in opposing the growing dictatorship of Carlos Ibanez in the middle twenties, and was in 1927 the only organization to dare run a candidate against him. Therefore when his regime triumphed the C.P. was driven underground and was decimated and demoralized.

With the overthrow of Ibanez in 1931, the C.P. came above ground again. But, there were many little groups of a purely Socialist orientation as well. These groups rallied around the short-lived Socialist Republic which was proclaimed in June 1932 under the leadership of Col. Marmaduke Grove. Although the regime lasted less than a month, it inspired the workers of Chile with new hope, and led to further developments. In the election of the Fall of 1932 the elements supporting the Socialist Republic backed Col. Grove for the Presidency. And, although they lost, the resulting Social Revolutionary Alliance was some months later converted into the Socialist Party.

The Chilean Socialist Party quickly gained wide support, particularly among the industrial workers of Santiago and surrounding cities. The Communist strength was still concentrated in the nitrate and copper mining areas. Grove was elected a Senator and several deputies were elected. The Party, meanwhile, took the leadership in organizing a United Left Front against the conservative-reactionary regime of Pres. Alessandri. This developed into the first and only Popular Front on the American continent, in the elections of 1938.

The Popular Front consisted of the Radical, Socialist, Communist and some minor parties, and the Confederacion de Trabajadores Chilenas. In the election of 1938 this coalition barely succeeded in electing Pedro Aguirre Cerda president of Chile.

The Popular Front regime and its liberal successors have made considerable progress. Although it was immediately faced with the effects of the worst earthquake in the country's history, as well as the effects of the War, the Leftist regime has done a good deal. It has built up industries in Chile, carried out an extensive housing program, completed one of the most extensive social security systems in the world and extended educational opportunities.

The Socialists took a leading part in all of this. For long they held the key positions of Ministers of Production—in charge of the industrialization program—and Minister of Education. They also were the leading group in Chile advocating that the government break off relations with the Axis. Socialist Minister Schnake was about the only politician in Chile in 1940-41 who actually dared advocate war with the Axis.

The Socialists remain one of the leading political parties in the country. They share control of the labor federation with the Communists, Socialist Bernardo Ibanez is the secretary of the C. T. Ch., as well as a Socialist deputy. He is the chief rival of Communist-minded Vincente Lombardo Toledano in the Confederation of Latin American Workers. Although the Socialists are no longer in the Government (they withdrew in the summer of 1943 after much bickering in the Party ranks), they still wield great influence on the administration's policies.

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Social and labor organization in Cuba dates back to the days when Spanish organizations had their branches in what was then one of the last Spanish colonies. There were a number of labor organizations in the island when it won its independence, some of these with socialist leanings. However, an actual Socialist Party was not organized until just before the First World War. At that time it succeeded in gaining a deputy in Congress. The Party continued in existence through the twenties, though under the dictatorship of Gerardo Machado, all political organizations except his own were pretty effectively suppressed. With the overthrow of the Dictator, the Socialist Party was again revived, and for a few years it gained considerable support, especially among the dock workers, whose unions have always been pro-Socialist. However, during the middle thirties, there was a great drive for organic unity of all the working-class organizations, and the Socialist Party was swallowed up in the Communist Party. The Socialists remained in the Communist Party, which became one of the principal pillars of the Batista regime, until 1940.

With the outbreak of the World War, and the sudden change of the Communist line from collective security to the

most rabid of isolationism and pseudo-revolution, the Socialists within the Cuban C.P. became very restive, and, finally they broke away, to reconstitute the Socialist Party of Cuba. This organization has, as always, its main strength among the maritime workers, though there are a number of other unions which are Socialist-controlled. The Cuban Socialist Party is very interested in Pan American Socialist unity and has been in correspondence with several other American Socialist parties, including those of Argentina and the U.S.A.

There is still a great deal of rivalry between the Socialists and Communists in the trade unions, and recently a number of Socialist union officials are reported to have resigned their jobs in protest against the alleged use of the trade unions for Communist Party ends.

In the recent Presidential election both Socialists and Communists supported the losing candidate, the protege of Pres. Batista, against the victor, Dr. Ramon Grau San Martin.

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Uruguay for long was the most progressive country in Latin America. Under the leadership of Jose Batlle and his successors, this little nation adopted, and actually carried out, the most complete social security system. At the same time it carried on large-scale experiments with socialized industry in the form of meat packing houses, electric power establishments and other industries.

For this reason, perhaps, Socialists, per se, never gained too wide an influence in this country. However, since before World War I there has been a Socialist organization in Uruguay, which has consistently supported these advanced experiments, and which has generally fought for a social democratic way of life in that country. Except for a short period during the Terra dictatorship in the early 1930's the Socialist Party of Uruguay has consistently had two or three members in the national Congress. Its leaders have been among the outstanding educators of the country, and have had considerable influence in the trade unions, although these organizations are primarily under Communist control. Just recently the Party's founder, Dr. Emilio Frugoni, was appointed first Uruguayan Minister to the Soviet Union. Uruguayan Socialists have always been interested in maintaining contacts with similar organizations in the Americas and elsewhere, and the S.P. belonged to the Labor and Socialist Internationale.

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There are other Socialist movements of more or less importance in Columbia, Panama, Brazil, Bolivia. However, these just discussed are of primary importance, and in the picture of Socialism in the Americas they certainly deserve first place.



## On Seeing Pictures of the War Dead

How shall we ask  
For what we need whose need  
Is less, not more?  
Now that the dragon seed

Grows tall and red, we  
Harvest in the field  
Sharp sheaves, and see  
The reaper felled

By what we took such care  
To sow so straight.  
Our secular prayer,  
Sincere and passionate,

Created its own  
Power and instrument  
And will. There is none,  
However innocent

In heart or head,  
That shall escape  
The stench of the dead  
Emptied and butchered hope

In these lives made  
Meaningless froth  
By us who were afraid  
Of life, but not of death.

A. J. M. Smith.

## With Sweetest Heresy

No woman, though she's made  
In the same mould as some tall Irish queen  
That poet-historians swear has been  
And wears her beauty like a diadem,  
With wit as sharp and polished as a gem,  
May be the all-sufficing book and grove,  
Lamp, bell, academy, and school of love.  
No, though she have the same deep-rooted strength  
Of sinew knotted at the gleaming thighs  
And hide amid the lustrous length  
Of hair's black shade  
Bright eyes.

Beauty of flesh and wit  
Are not so much as half of it.  
Intense enough, alas, but marginal,  
The breast unmotherly can hardly love at all.  
As rivers row and fountains flow  
These love and do not know.

And yet one darling's ignorant she-discernment  
I have found  
Turn love's wise parliament  
Around and round,  
That in an unlearned frenzy and contentment  
At her white side I lie  
With sweetest heresy.

A. J. M. Smith.

## Poem

A spiritual pigeon catapults the  
Air around you; a loaded violet  
Is dangerous in your fur. Tenderness, set  
Like a mousetrap or poised like a bee,  
Falls from you (God's angry love). Lucky  
The lean communicant whose table's set  
With you: he banquets well, and rises fed  
With innocence and Apollonian energy.

Some holy men so love their cells they make  
Their four gray walls the whole damned stinking world  
And God comes in and fills it easily.  
Your Christian bird and Grecian flower twirled  
In gamblers' spirals sets a trickier stake,  
Grounded, O love, in holiness and joy.

A. J. M. Smith

## Draughtsman

He wears his eyes a tattered blue on charts,  
watches from square to careful square, the slow  
and formless fading of his art.  
"For thirty years or more," he says and stares  
far-sightedly at what is there before his nose.

"Space held about by lines," he says, "by thin  
accurate lines my hand draws on the cloth,  
held in and chequered by me all these years—  
made like a building almost—lines like steel,  
girders against the weight and wind, but cramped.  
Space held too tight and close," he says and squints  
near-sightedly at what is dim and far.

Fear sits upon his draughting board. His hands  
shake as he rules those old straight lines; his prints  
don't come so clean now from the quick machine.  
Approached, he parries with the laugh he hates  
and feels the bottle's beautiful liquid shape  
cool in the memory of his youthful palms.

While all the time his fading vision shifts  
and far is hot and near, and near so far.

P. K. Pay

## Plane Formations

Now in the vastness of silver blue morning  
high above quivering small birds  
they come,  
steady with heavy drone  
arrowed and impeccable,  
gleaming with gilt of early light,  
relentless with untempered magic of man's science,  
bearing without breath into the sun,  
purposeful and impersonal;  
the clear destiny of primeval hate  
freed of complicating neurosis of this present time  
triumphant in cold unconsciousness.  
These are the icy angels of death and fire;  
they alone can shiningly face the sun  
and pierce the ineffable and unwalked space  
without love and without fear.

Murray Bonnycaste

## The Valiant Vacationist

When we started to climb those steps,  
Stone steps up and echoing round and up,  
I felt genteel enough, mistaking it for Brock's monument.

I don't remember why I knew  
That woman we met (she was coming down)  
Would never never never find the bottom.

Anyway, I knew at once  
That this dutiful interlude would not be followed  
By squashed-egg sandwiches and coca-cola.  
Up till then we had never suspected  
That there were any alternatives  
To a picnic lunch in the park,  
Beside the car, well away from the public toilets.

But here, on a half-way landing  
An old fly guzzled a dirty windowpane:  
I wanted to shake his hand or clap him on the shoulder  
As my last countryman, and I could have cried  
Because our hands were so far not the same  
In size and shape and custom. And I knew  
He didn't notice, and didn't even care.

After that landing came the wooden steps  
With broken edges, and here and there  
A crushed lily, a piece of old seaweed,  
Smashed chalk of shells ground up with sawdust  
And the naked air showing through—

And then, to the right, a river-bank  
Thin with young birches, where an old white horse  
Grazed absently. The path led to the bridge  
Slung over the sliding river's cloudy green  
(Like an evening over your shoulder in early May)

Then the wooden steps again, and far below  
The scrag and cliff. And then a morning pool  
Misty, verging into the quicksand flats.

The word I send from here  
Is pitched so fine it lances my tympanum  
And I begin to wonder whether you hear it?

Moreover, last night's stars were plash  
On my enamelled skull, and now I smell  
The morgue-dawn will be snow, but myriad.

In the meantime anyway it might be wise  
If I made arrangements only for myself  
When I arrive. Then, if you come, we can surely  
Find accommodation without any trouble.  
I haven't met any tourists since last Sunday  
Nor anyone else in fact.  
Perhaps you'd better wait till you hear again.  
Frost burns so quickly and the sun today  
Was yellower than you are used to see it.  
Their language here you wouldn't understand.  
Myself, I find it difficult  
and so far have been unsuccessful  
in finding anyone  
Even to interpret for me to myself.  
When I have mastered it, I'll let you know.

Margaret Avison.

## Falling Asleep

The moon rides firmly in the firmament:  
Cupped in three walls the day's high heat,  
Still warm, is sprinkled with a trickling breeze  
Run through the mesh of night, a condiment  
To love. Too like a ghost the naked sheet,  
Too like, winks promises of ease,  
Softness and ease and cooling warmth and sleep.  
Who would not lie with love beneath the moon?  
Yet I shall not lie down too readily, too soon,  
Knowing that I must keep  
Some strange appointments first  
With pain and fear, hunger and misery and thirst,  
With death in sundry places, behind his divers faces;  
And worst among the worst,  
With death that served no-one at all,  
Before I fall  
To sleep.

Now gliding down upon the Norman coast  
To break my heart upon a Norman tree,  
Dyeing its leaves with my own fall  
To maple coloring;  
Or backed against a Polish wall  
Wait for the shot I shall not hear,  
The fall I shall not see.  
Now in some Jewish cage, broken  
By the hollow rods of time,  
Crushing my ear  
Against the ground and no word spoken,  
Parched for the living waters that are dried,  
And no strong hand to strike the rock descired  
Even upon hope's utmost rim,  
Beat out my stubborn soul upon the bars of fear.  
Now count the beaded blood as one by one  
They slip my slackened fingering  
And sliding on the tenuous string  
Of time, foretell  
The end, here in this narrow cell,  
The sand, the silence, and the Libyan sun.

And now at last I scale the night,  
Lost to life, to thought, to sight,  
Astride the dark I ride the cloud,  
And seed the passive air with death,  
Until between the loud  
Lamentations of the guns, the breath  
Of engines and the moaning shell  
I hear the small expected note of a passing bell  
Tolling for me.  
Light's probing forceps find me out  
And fiery scalpels knife me from the sky:  
Again the fall, the final, fatal fearful fall;  
And now to sleep, and now to die,  
To fall to death and fall to sleep, and dying  
Make one more anonymous fragment  
Of that lost continent  
Lying beneath the flaming waters of the Channel sea,  
While over all  
The moon still firmly rides the firmament.

Stella Keirstead.

### Mrs. Jone

Battered by bailiffs' notices, she wanders the city,  
Knowing the winter of Harbord, the streets in all weather,  
A charge on the taxpayers, waiter at desks.  
With the terrible dignity of desperation  
With borrowed car-tickets she goes for "relief"  
And is turned back with questions.

The city gives and the city takes away,  
The city fumigates and accuses,  
Refuses to recognize  
The nefarious activity of life  
Like a purple rank growth  
Nettling and choking  
The respectable gridiron.

When I was going to school, she was living on Sackville,  
St. Albans, Cumberland, Massey, in one year.  
Her children slept hungry, went without bedding.  
When I was attending the university lectures,  
From nine to twelve learning Spinoza and Fielding,  
Tracing the bough with my eyes through the big glass  
windows,  
Passing the long avenue and the popcorn by the museum,  
Her husband left her and drank and lost his job again.  
The children had delicate health and needed tonsillectomies.  
I remember the shrill song of the Chinese ragman,  
Street cleaner, limping like a tiny twig,  
The wide hard street.

At the corner of Wellington and Spadina,  
All the tincans in the world are rattling.  
At the corner of Front and Bathurst,  
The trains converse like people.  
At the corner of Manning and College  
The streets are pasted with children  
Like cutouts, and chickens are hidden in cages.  
These things she learned in walking all over the city,  
Walking to Loblaws for groceries, walking to offices.

Alice Eedy.

### Journey Home

Certainly there had been nothing but the extraordinary rain  
for a long time—  
nothing but the rain, the grey buildings, the grey snow,  
when landscape broke the lens and smacked his face  
with a flag of blue  
and the white thunder of snow  
rolling the hills.

Hurry was in his veins,  
violence vaulted the loose-box of his head  
where the old cantankerous horse was harsh with its hooves;  
and hurry was hot in the straw  
and snapped in the eyes  
of the innocent traveller.

And flex and flux were there  
like acrobats  
waving their banners.  
So declamatory was his blood  
that he owned the train:  
its whistle was in his throat,  
its wheels in his brain.

Once he became a panoramic view:  
the white of the valleys and hills

his own still flesh  
outstretched and magnified;  
the single house, with lights too early lit,  
the incredible carton of his shining head.

But speed had robbed him,  
he was forced to change  
his contours and his outlook and his range.  
Riding through forest it was dark again  
and the great coniferous branches brushed his face  
and the snow, packed round the multiple trunks, was dead.

Rabbit spoor resembled his memory  
of what he once had been—faint against faintness, definite  
as dust,  
of the no-taste of wafers, of the warmth  
that neither gives nor takes.  
Past was a pastel rubbed as he hurried past.

And now that the tunnel of trees was done, his eyes  
sprinted the plain where house lights in the dusk  
fired pistols for the race that led him on.  
He shed the train like a snake its skin; he dodged  
the waiting cameras, which, with a simple click  
could hold him fast to the spot beside the track.

And as the air came into his lungs, he stood  
there in the dark at his destination, knowing  
somewhere—to left? to right?—he was walking home  
and his shoulders were light and white as though wings  
were growing.

P. K. Page.

### Christmas Eve

On prairie-straight road by snow-dust honed blizzard  
scythings  
Cross cut, failing twilight fast frozen to star-blind dark,  
The vast horizon circumference tightened inwards  
Concentrating the long-drawn, storm crescendo writhings,  
And fear that frostily finger-fumbled the failing spark.

On the choked sudden of no movement under congealing  
blasts  
Eyes peered through cleft snowdrifts to skid on vergeless  
whitewards  
Until, with joy-horror, discerning a half-mile farmhouse.  
Followed the foot-small stumble fall, while hands helplessly  
strode  
With the gale-wrapped, stopped breath as lopped double-bent  
forwards  
In death-defying pilgrimage.

Tenuous doubt, dog bark  
shattered,  
Made stiffening eyes, ice-fringed, fail. Reverberations  
Of long, small knockings on reluctant doors, gunny-sack  
Shrouded in futile defense, brought a girl, tattered,  
And sight-weary of winter's highwaymen. Void of pleas  
antries

She resumed her night-long vigil: vestal with oblations  
Of scant logs to creosote-oozing, age-raddled, stove.

In limp silence sat the yellow-lamplight refugees:  
By ranged, strange breathings, alcoves issuing, close  
Shut in, from time, from men, and Christ child, wholly  
Sundered. "A Happy Christmas," and throat stuffed  
blizzard-back

The blasphemy. "Goodwill to Men," and mocking gusts  
Ran thumb nail screams on slats of memory . . .

Rita Adams.



VILLA ROSSI. Headquarters of a Canadian Infantry Brigade,  
1st Canadian Division, near Assoro, Sicily, July 1943.  
From a pen and watercolor sketch by Capt. W. A. Ogilvie.

PERMISSION CANADIAN ARMY.

## Film Review

D. Mosdell

► "HOLLYWOOD," said the producer, Walter Wanger, recently, "is not neglecting entertainment, and will *never* give it second place to instructional movies . . ."

It would be nice if People with Causes, in general, would pause to recognize the elementary shrewdness behind that remark, and, if necessary, document their conclusions with a glance into the lobby of any downtown theatre. At which point in any given program do people emerge for a quick cigarette? Mostly during the *travlogue* or the *newsreel*; rarely during the main feature; and *never* during the cartoon, even if it is a *Bugs Bunny* instead of a genuine Donald Duck.

This regrettable preference for trivia is not always a result of the instinct to escape from "reality"; it is frequently the producer who has done the escaping, into a tidy, shining edited world of his own construction, where the audience feels, quite rightly, it would only be in the way. The fact is, movies are not really suited to the approach direct, where somebody gets up and delivers a lecture (unless, of course, it is Robert Benchley on the Romance of Digestion or some kindred topic). The cross-stitch motto on the directorial wall should be "Show people: don't tell them."

Occasionally in a full-length narrative movie someone does get up and deliver a more or less formal speech, more or less obviously directed at the audience rather than at the other characters in the story; but the audience has to be drugged beforehand with good montage shots and suitable, not too obvious music, into an emotionally receptive mood. Even so, the device frequently fails, with disastrous results, both to the speech and to the picture as a whole.

Take Noel Coward's latest picture, *This Happy Breed*, for instance, which is devoted (and "devoted" is the word) to the English middledog's ivory tower, or kennel. There are some wonderful bits: the old grandmother, who is sure she will soon be in her coffin, where she will be no further trouble to anybody (meanwhile being as much of a general nuisance as possible), and the neurotic semi-spinster, who goes in for Spiritual Radiation, are both fine Cowardly people. But there are unfortunately also other bits, in which the average movie-goer shifts restlessly in his seat, murmurs "Corn" to his companion, and fishes out the peanut brittle . . . As, for example, when the father of the family, otherwise a reasonably convincing character, suddenly becomes self-consciously Representative, stares into the middle distance, and says "We are the common, ordinary people, who tend our bits of gardens. We believe in doing things slowly; we are the backbone of England" — or words to that effect.

If you are telling a story, it is probably all right to minimize or even falsify historical events for the sake of unity (thus, in *This Happy Breed*, the General Strike of 1926 becomes a kind of pageant, only less picturesque than the demobilization parades of 1919). It is necessary, though, to tell the truth about people in however limited a sense. Surely common people do not see themselves as common, and there is no such thing as ordinary life. Noel Coward jeopardizes the vitality of his main character for the sake of delivering a "message"; which is both sad and stupid. Moreover, all the characters are caught in a glue of family affection which effectively neutralizes any efforts the individual members of the family make toward developing an individual judgment; and this solidarity is represented as a Good Thing. The technique of the picture is

superb, but all Coward's wit of yesteryear is eaten away by the cancer of sentiment. It is an encouraging fact that any movie which takes up a Cause or preaches a direct sermon at the expense of characterization or story usually turns out to have cut its own box-office throat to begin with.

This may partly explain why Hollywood has always been a mirror of American society rather than a telescope trained on Utopia, though perhaps Mr. Wanger was also aware that Hollywood, as one of the greatest monopolistic industries in the world, would cut rather a grotesque figure in the role of a deliberate social critic. Who knows — he may even have decided to share the humility of the man who said anybody could make the laws of a nation as long as he could write its songs. In any case, the concern of this column will be chiefly with movies as entertainment, and with any "trends" in the pattern of American life that the movies seem at the moment to be reflecting. "Instructional films will have to speak for themselves — they do, anyway."

## The Poetry of E. J. Pratt

L. A. Mackay

► THE COLLECTION of E. J. Pratt's poems into one volume\* makes unmistakably clear the reasons why he is regarded by traditionalists and innovators alike as the greatest of contemporary Canadian poets, and one of the chief figures in contemporary poetry written in English anywhere. The most obvious and outstanding quality is the sheer natural vitality of the writing, all the more exciting at a time when so many poets offer us a choice between a natural anaemia and a forced heartiness.

Despite the variety of subjects, the collection leaves a clear impression of a singular unity of theme. There is, however, such a clear line of development that for the sake of readers who do not possess the earlier volumes, one regrets that the poems were not dated, either on their own initial page or in an appendix. One idea is dominant, the idea of heroic combat. If all the poems in which this idea is not dominant were omitted from the collection it would lose little in bulk and, with a very few exceptions, almost none of the best work. In the earlier poems this superabundance of energy demanded combatants of supernatural force, and resulted in the creation of almost a private mythology. Since *The Roosevelt and the Antinoe* however, the elation of the enormous brute conflict has been exalted and humanized. *The Titanic*, *Brébeuf*, *Dunkirk*, *The Truant*, into the heroic struggle of mankind against hostile material, human, and spiritual forces. It may be noted that *The Fable of the Goats*, where no conflict occurs, betrays throughout a weariness and slackness of treatment that sets it below the other longer poems of the volume. *Brébeuf*, in which, though the writing is quieter than in the other epics, the spiritual struggle is most exalted and intense, will probably mark most readers the highest level of achievement.

There are a few memorable short poems — *Come Away Death*, as fine as anything in the volume, and *Silences*, *The Prize Cat*, *Come Not The Seasons Here*, *Seen On The Road*, *The Drag-Irons*, *The Shark*, *The Frog*, *Sea-Gulls* — but most of the others could have been omitted with little loss, sometimes with definite gain. Pratt's gift is unmistakably epic rather than lyric. It is in the longer poems, that is to say, poems of some two hundred lines and up, that his genius shows itself most vigorously and unmistakably.

\*COLLECTED POEMS: E. J. Pratt; Macmillan, pp. 314; \$1.50

characteristic energy demands a free and open field for its display. It may be noted how consistently his poetry is poetry of the open air and the wide spaces of land and water, not because of any preconceived theory, but because it is to such scenes that the natural working of his inspiration carries his mind.

The structure of the narratives may at first sight seem loose and amorphous. The problem, where to start, seems never to arise; he starts at the beginning, and drives straight ahead to the end. Yet the inherent unity that underlies the seeming artlessness of construction is demonstrated by the fact that the poetical effect is the effect of the poem as a whole. There are indeed few poets in whom the whole is so much greater than the parts. There are few memorable lines, few passages that can be isolated for quotation, yet hardly any that could be omitted without loss to the whole. Almost invariably, his poems either succeed entirely, or if they fail to strike a responsive fire, can be disregarded completely, with no attempt to salvage bits. This remarkable unity is the result of a peculiar intensity which is attained completely or not at all. Once attained, it can be maintained without flagging for the whole duration of the poem, but it cannot be attained in bits and pieces, and for its full effectiveness demands an action of heroic scale and scope.

In the service, or perhaps one should say in the grip of this inspiration he has developed a highly individual and effective technique. It is an essentially and exceptionally concrete style, built on nouns and verbs, deriving from them not only its movement but its color; a very high proportion of the adjectives even, are participles. Adjectives and adverbs are sparingly used; they are chosen not for decorative effect, but to make a meaning more precise. For the same reason, there is a free use of many technical vocabularies in his metaphors and similes, not for a general effect, or in obedience to a fashion or theory, but for the purpose of making a particular image more exact and vivid. His verses are crammed with things and actions. Not abstractions and aspects, but individual things and particular actions. The result is a poetry essentially concrete and direct, that makes a powerful appeal, both immediate and enduring, to learned and unlearned alike.

His vocabulary and range of imagery are almost unlimited, but there is no obscurity or contortion in his syntax, and one never loses the impression of a rush of spontaneous utterance with a full head of power behind it. It is a poetry of energy rather than delicacy, an essentially masculine poetry. The rhythms are rapid and sometimes rough, the humor has a boisterous and innocent heartiness. The cataracts of words and streams of prepositional phrases have no empty verbosity, but a high-spirited loquacity. Names and images are hurried along and heaped together apparently with the indiscriminate exuberance of a high gale. It is only when the wind subsides and the reader catches his breath and begins to find his place among the other debris, that he can appreciate the selection of his extravagantly varied surroundings.

The lighter pieces defy comparison, for there is little in literature to which they can be compared except the Old Comedy of Athens, and most of that has perished. But Mr. Pratt may count on a cordial welcome in Elysium from Aristophanes and his fellow-craftsmen. Underlying the gusto of the lighter pieces, however, is the same spirit that more soberly permeates the serious work, a spirit of superb confidence in human courage. It is this confidence that has kept him from any temptation to slink away into an ivory

tower, that has kept his thought immersed but not submerged in the painful realities of contemporary life, that has centred his attention particularly on the superb moments when human courage faces its supreme trials, and that in his finest work sees tragedy unshakeably as triumph, and death as swallowed up in victory.

## CORRESPONDENCE

The Editor:

In the November issue of your paper (p. 172) I read under the title "That Canadian History Text-Book," the following statement:

"We were surprised to see a man of the quality of Abbé Maheux taking up this topic."

The surprise is for me! At the convention of the Canada-Newfoundland Education Association held in Toronto in October I have read the Report of a special Committee on the teaching of History, of which I am chairman.

The Report is explicitly and completely *against* a single text-book in Canadian history. The text of the Report will be printed in the Annual Report of the C.N.E.A.

ABBE ARTHUR MAHEUX,  
Laval University,  
Quebec, P.Q.

The Editor:

I note that your reviewer has a very low opinion of my *Foundations of National Well-Being*. I can't claim to be greatly surprised. It would be a triumph indeed if anything I could say would convince the contributors to the Forum of the virtues of a free society. But I do suggest that it is possible to say that I am wrong without insinuating that I consciously twisted the facts. It is hardly good manners, it is not even good sense, to suggest that everyone who disagrees with you is morally perverted.

Your reviewer suggested that I suppressed the figures of industrial profits in my appendix in order to improve my case. Here is the best index of the net earnings of Canadian manufacturing corporations of which I have knowledge:

1922-26 inclusive=100

1926 - 123.7	1931 - 52.1
1927 - 137.8	1932 - 12.5
1928 - 162.0	1933 - 42.5
1929 - 161.2	1934 - 52.5
1930 - 104.8	1935 - 66.0
	1936 - 96.7

(R. T. Morgan, *Earnings of Canadian Industries, 1920-36*.  
Kingston: Queen's University, 1938.)

This is a chain index based on the results of 76 companies and weighted by industry from the official reports of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics.

Those figures prove that manufacturing capital took its losses in depression and I commend them to the attention of your reviewer.

I will not burden you with proof of the statement that the return to capital is a small part of the national income. It is in the studies of the national income prepared for the Rowell-Sirois Commission and for the Dominion-Provincial Conference of 1941 (Ottawa: The King's Printer, 1939 and 1941). I had thought it common knowledge, but I see I was mistaken.

JOHN L. McDougall,  
Queen's University,  
Kingston, Ont.

## BOOKS OF THE MONTH

THE SPIRIT OF AMERICAN ECONOMICS: J. F. Normano (with a supplement, *The Development of Canadian Economic Ideas* by A. R. M. Lower); Longmans, Green & Co. (John Day); pp. 252; \$3.25.

The main thesis of Dr. Normano's book is that the development of American economic thought can best be explained as a conflict between two principles: conservation and transformation. Having set forth this idea in his introduction, he follows it through four periods of American history: "Homespun America," "America of the Moving Frontier," "Industrial America," and "America at the Cross-roads." He does not by any means confine himself to the writings of professional economists, though they are well represented; he examines also, with a wealth of quotations, the works of a whole series of non-professional publicists and pamphleteers. He strongly objects to the frequent statement of American academic economists that there has really been no American economic thought. All that that means, he insists, is that, in the main, American academic economists have added little to the main body of English classical political economy, a very different matter. Charles A. Beard, in a statement printed on the dust cover, describes the book as "a stream of clean, fresh thought that sweeps with devastating and informing force through the dust piles of alleged thinking about American thought which have been heaped up by European commentators on American thinking and their thoughtless imitators among Americans," adding that this book is "the most penetrating and informing on the subject which has yet come within my ken."

On the whole, this commendation is deserved. But it is a pity that the book's circulation is likely to be unnecessarily restricted by the frequent long quotations in German, by the use of such terms as "epigon" and "individuum," and by an astonishing number of misprints, curious foreign constructions, and mixed metaphors. Some of the misprints are serious: "fictions" for "factories," "air" for "aim," "structures" for "strictures," "meet our" for "mete out," "personality" for "personality," "informers" for "reformers," "factual" for "factional," "Moore" for "More," "formers" for "farmers," "bend" (noun) for "bent," "Benthamian" for "Benthamite," "restituted" for (presumably) "restored." "Walker, son," "Carey, son," "the beginning industrialization of America," the "just beginning frontier movement," "the discussed period," and "it was group or man and not individual thought" are hardly English. Dr. Normano, a Russian, educated in that country and in Germany, can scarcely be blamed for this, but he has been very ill served by his editor and proof reader; and somebody ought to have rescued him from things like: "Pennsylvania became the fermenting center of this movement, giving birth to the nucleus of a school," "The romantic, nationalist, optimist, protectionist, anti-classic current found its synthesis and culmination in the works of Henry C. Carey," "He represents the concluding chapter in this current," "The trends and tendencies which were slumbering under the surface since the First World War, which were sharpened and crystallized in the unhappy thirties, are expanding rapidly under the influence of great events," and "The ideological background of the experiments in transformation did not flower into a strong movement."

Canadian readers will be particularly interested in Professor Lower's supplement, which, it need hardly be said, is a very useful, and also a very entertaining, piece of work. Unfortunately, it has been even worse proof-read than the

rest of the book. Dr. Normano has 44 misprints in 201 pages; Professor Lower has at least 26 in 29 pages, notably "flambuoyant," "flambuoyancy," "ecstacy," "Aquinias," "colossal," "defencible," "principle" (adjective), "ralsals" (rascals). Mr. R. B. Bennett appears four times in the text and once in the index minus his final t; by way of compensation, Sir Oliver Mowat gets an extra t, and Sir E. W. Watkin a final s. Dr. O. D. Skelton appears as C. D. Skelton, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald gets a small d, and his namesake, Sir John A. Macdonald is misquoted: "A British subject I was born, a British subject I shall die." Why Watkin and Macdonald get their titles while Galt, Mowat and Hincks do not is a mystery; so is the usage in the index, where some people appear with Christian names and titles, some with Christian names only, some with initials only, and some absolutely unadorned (Lord Baldwin, Mr. Dorion, Major Douglas, Principal Grant, Mr. Holton, Lord Russell and Dr. Townsend fall in this last category). There are also some curious constructions: "Reactions took three broad lines: first, efficiency and aids to efficiency were demanded by the farmer in the form of low rail rates and protests against the tariff," and "legislation to alleviate farm debtors." The Intercolonial Railway was finished in 1876, not 1873; and it is a trifle misleading to describe the Colonial Conference (in 1907) as having "been meeting in London since the 1880's." It is very doubtful whether Mr. H. H. Stevens would agree that his 1935 program "boiled down to 'soft money,'" and equally doubtful whether Conservatives who remember 1911 would agree that their arguments in the election of that year were "much more in terms of maintenance of Canadian autonomy than of the British connection." CCF supporters will feel inclined to challenge the description of their party as "semi-Socialist" and (at the beginning) "overweighted with intellectuals," and the statement that Mr. Woodsworth had "few doctrines." Trade unionists will learn with surprise that the older and stronger Canadian labor unions . . . take their policy from the *American Federation of Labor*, that there are "several major groups of unions," and that "up to 1942 not very much more than the old crafts" had "been unionized." Actually, of the 17 largest unions, in 1942, seven (including the largest, the third largest and the two tied for fourth place) belonged to the Canadian Congress of Labor, one to the Canadian and Catholic Confederation of Labor, and two were independent railway brotherhoods; and three of the big C.C.L. unions had been in existence for a very long time. So far from "not very much more than the old crafts having been unionized" before 1942, the fact is that in 1941 a good quarter of all the unionists in Canada were in industrial unions. Montrealers will learn with astonishment that the *Montreal Herald* is "very similar" to the *Montreal Gazette*. The Liberal party will perhaps not be altogether pleased to be described as "agrarian to the farmers, vaguely sympathetic with Labor, industrial to the manufacturers, and orthodox to the French . . . all things to all men. It 'moves with the times' but no one would say it moves ahead of the times. If it was for individual enterprise yesterday it is for social amelioration today and it may be taking steps towards industrial socialism tomorrow. The genius of the party is exactly reflected in its leader, whose mottoes might well be 'let nature take its course'; 'don't cross the bridge till you come to it'—and then make sure it is safe, but don't absolutely refuse to cross." Progressive Conservatism is not even mentioned.

Eugene Forsey.

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**OUR SETTLEMENT WITH GERMANY:** H. N. Brailsford; Longmans, Green & Co. (John Day); pp. 160; \$2.25.

Mr. Brailsford has given us, in this small book, an extremely sane and judicious discussion of the various peace proposals regarding Germany. The barbarity of Nazism is there for all to see; the fact that Germany lies in the heart of Europe and cannot be permanently isolated is equally clear. "The test of a good settlement is that it enables the German people, after a delay that cannot yet be measured in years, to take their place with self-respect within the European community of the future." And Europe cannot endure half slave and half free.

To blame any German state, Prussia, for instance, is too easy, for "so long as votes settled anything, Prussia and not the South was the democratic stronghold." The guilt lies rather with social groups: the Nazis; behind them the Junker and big business interests that brought them to power. "It was a marriage of rye with steel." From one and a half to two million Germans in concentration camps have fought against Nazism and paid a heavy price. "Would Himmler require a formidable army of his own, the Waffen S.S. amounting to 350,000 men, equipped with tanks and artillery, if in fact all Germany were solidly behind the Fuehrer?" It is among these and other German enemies of Fascism that the builders of the future Germany must be found, for the author insists that no democratic system can be imposed from outside, and that an army of occupation cannot re-educate the country it occupies. As he puts it: "Bayonets can do much, but they cannot educate."

Even during the occupation, there should be no ban on political activities once the Nazi party has been destroyed. Mr. Brailsford suggests that we should revive the civilized body of legislation and the humane criminal code of the Weimar republic. He believes that a government must be built up in Germany as quickly as possible after the victory, and that this will be done most easily from the bottom up; there is a strong tradition of municipal government; these would be easier to elect and might serve as a basis for the establishment of the central government.

Internationalization of the Ruhr industries is approved, provided it be true international control by a regional authority upon which the Belgian and French, some of whose heavy industry belongs to the same economic region, share in the control, as well as the Germans. What should be avoided is to hand over German industry to English and American big interests under a veil of internationalism. Nor does the author want to hand over sections of German inhabitants to Poland.

The brief discussion of the international authority that must be set up contains some very valuable suggestions, as, for example, that the national delegations should be elected by each national parliament by proportional representation to reflect the state of opinion in each country, and to break down a mere representation by national blocs. The author believes that the decisions of such a body might be more easily accepted—and we must build an acceptable international authority before any weakening of the harmony between the three great powers, upon which the peace of the world now rests.

Mr. Brailsford calls his book "not a forecast but a warning." A warning, in part, that if we allow our governments to make the avoidance of fundamental economic changes their chief aim, and thus repeat the story of the last peace, another war is inevitable, for the liberated peoples of Europe will not submit to dictation. As he says: "Everyone concedes that a federation must possess a

common political philosophy. That phrase is an invention of the intellectual's study; it lacks realism. A federation run for Big Business by its lawyers is workable and familiar. A federation run for its workers and peasants by a disciplined party is also workable: it exists. What is doubtful is whether a federation can be formed or can be durable if it is composed of democracies in which the major issue of our times remains undecided."

This is a vital, honest and challenging book. It is based on reason and common sense. And it is essential reading for every thinking citizen. Don't miss it.

*G. M. A. Grube.*

**CANADIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS:** H. McD. Clokie; Longmans, Green & Co.; pp. 351; \$3.00.

Professor Clokie, recognizing that there has long been a need for a book on Canadian political institutions, has happily come forward with this compact description of the present Canadian constitution. There is likely to be a wide demand for the book not only in Canada but, it is to be hoped, in the United States and other countries. The complexities of the Canadian federal system, and the almost exclusive attention paid by Canadian scholars to specific constitutional problems and to technical points of legal interpretation, have resulted in a dearth of books like this one which attempts to give a general, over-all description of the principal organs of Canadian government. Political science has been one of our more neglected social sciences, relatively less developed than Canadian history, economics or constitutional law, and it is good to see the gap being filled by a work of this sort.

The book starts by asking the two perennial Canadian questions: Is Canada a State? is Canada a Nation? One might have thought that the first question could have been answered affirmatively with less hesitation than the author indicates. Surely after all the to-do of the last 25 years we are a state: if not, what becomes of our "voluntary" entry into this war. Yet so long as Canadians are content to continue the use of political symbols derived from a colonial past (flag, anthem, etc.) and to leave amendments to the constitution and final judgments of courts to non-Canadian bodies, it is not surprising that Canada's claim to statehood has to be admitted with caution. We have not yet adjusted our thought to the notion that we can be a sovereign and totally independent state—even a republic if we so wish—and still be freely associated in the British Commonwealth. And because we do not realize this, we hesitate to place our entire state structure on a Canadian foundation, thus leaving an element of confusion. As regards Canadian nationality, Professor Clokie's guarded analysis is more understandable. The difficulty is first to define a nation, and next to square the definition with the inescapable dualism in our cultural tradition. The bilateralism of Canadian thought is partly a result of her incomplete statehood. Canada will have to feel and act more like a state before she can feel and act more as a nation; this seems to be the psychological priority.

The main sections of the book contain a description of the nature of Canadian constitutional law and convention, of political parties and their organization, of the Canadian parliament and cabinet, and of the provinces and local governments. The problems of constitutional revision and democratic improvement in governmental practices are also raised. Some parts of this description are perhaps not as clear as they might be because the author is inclined to make comparisons with American and British practice — often very illuminating — at the expense of a simple description of Canadian practice. But all the important aspects of government are dealt with, and there is much useful analysis and judicious appraisal of political procedures. More space

might have been devoted to administrative agencies, since they are so large a part of the modern state mechanism. As in all such books, there are points of detail and of opinion with which many readers may differ; one may ask what the author means when he says the BNA Act is silent on "war powers," seeing that "militia, military and naval service and defense," are within Dominion jurisdiction, or why he says that Canadian political parties have "great room for their democratization in organization," when the completely democratic structure of one at least of these parties is evident.

A valuable feature of the book is the bibliography for each chapter. This volume helps in the understanding of the practical world we Canadians live in.

F. R. Scott.

THE PRINTING TRADES: Jacob Loft; Oxford (Farrar & Rinehart); pp. 301; \$3.75.

This book is third in the series *Labor in Twentieth Century America*. Laboriously compiled, it is heavily laden with facts and figures, not the figures that take the playboy's fancy, but real figures—numerals, decimals, percentages. Here is a paragraph:

"An I.T.U. survey of the United States and Canada for seven and one-half years between January 1, 1930, and June 30, 1938, shows a net gain of one daily newspaper for the period. However, beneath apparent stability, there were 320 daily papers newly established and 319 suspensions, 98 of which resulted from mergers with other dailies. Of the 319 suspensions in this period, 110 (34 percent) were papers established since January 1, 1930. In the last two years of the period, of 83 suspensions, 48 (58 percent) occurred to dailies established after July 1, 1936. In the preceding five and one-half years, 62 (26 percent) of 236 suspensions occurred to dailies established after January 1, 1930. Here, then, is evidence of a considerable degree of infant mortality in the daily newspaper field. In so far as the breakdown for the entire 7½-year period would indicate a trend, it becomes apparent that the proportion of deaths among infant dailies is increasing."

Carefully read, much can be learned of births and deaths in the daily newspaper family from the above piece, when, however, nearly every page of the first ten chapters (there are eighteen in the volume) has a paragraph or two like this statistical sample, the book cannot be thought of as light reading.

Ostensibly *The Printing Trades* is the story of organized labor in the printing industry from 1899 to 1939, a period which corresponds with the major mechanization developments in printing. The beginnings of the National (now International) Typographical Union are traced, a body that in the earlier years covered all workers in the industry. With mechanization greater specialization in the varied production processes developed, and the I.T.U. broke up into five independent organized groups — compositors, pressmen, bindery workers, stereotypers and photoengravers. The International Allied Printing Trades Association was formed later to take care of the mutual interests of all five unions.

There is very little drama in the history of printing unions, such as coal and steel have known, and what there is Mr. Loft has played down. His study is detailed, authoritative and impartial, the employers' organizations and problems receiving the same thorough and fair survey as that of the workers, and even the more notorious anti-unionists, such as Donnelley of Chicago, are written of without bias.

The late W. F. MacLean of the old *Toronto World* once wrote that the day may come when the newspaper might

disappear and we would get our news over the air. Broadcasting, we learn from this book, has cut into newspaper advertising revenue but circulation is higher at present than it has been at any time during the past forty years.

At the turn of the century tuberculosis was a serious menace in the printing industry. Now, happily, through unionization or mechanization, or a combination of both, a remarkable change has taken place, as these figures show: "In 1900 . . . when 15.2 percent of the deaths among men in the United States were due to pulmonary tuberculosis, 32.1 percent of I.T.U. deaths were traced to the same cause. But by 1937, when the tuberculosis death rate among all skilled workers and foremen between 15 and 64 was 72.1 for every 100,000, the corresponding I.T.U. rate had dropped far below to 62.3."

Almost anything you want to know of a statistical nature about the printing industry can be learned from this work of Jacob Loft. Names are given but no personalities emerge and not one anecdote is there to brighten its pages. A fine book but definitely not "snappy" reading.

Stewart Cowan.

THE PORTABLE HEMINGWAY: Malcolm Cowley, Editor; Macmillan (Viking Press); pp. 642; \$2.75.

In a new Hemingway selection—which includes *The Sun Also Rises* and *In Our Time* in full, with passages from the other novels, a number of other short stories and the epilogue to *Death in the Afternoon* — Malcolm Cowley groups Hemingway with Poe, Hawthorne and Melville, "the haunted and nocturnal writers, the men who dealt in images that were symbols of an inner world."

Hemingway seems to me not so much in the tradition of this group as a sort of Byronic figure to this extent that many of the terms applied to Byron are applicable to Hemingway too, terms such as disenchantment, pessimism, international romanticist, *mal du siècle*, and because, as with Byron, an intense egocentrism has served to construct a legend, unmatched in the case of Poe, Melville or Hawthorne. That part of the legend which is purely literary is hard to disentangle from the part which belongs to the personal life of the author since the heroes of Hemingway's books, one after the other, are curiously tied up with Hemingway himself. But, taking it from the books, the legend is that of an American youth who, fascinated by Europe, is yet thoroughly disillusioned there, and in fact with life itself which becomes tolerable only by the practice of a special code of conduct found at its best among sporting people. He suffers from some deep wound which, mental or physical, is quite incurable and results in a malaise which is chronic, an enduring state of feeling. His adventures in far lands, Mediterranean and Latin, serve only to confirm his chronic *mal du siècle*, whether they are military, sporting or erotic—even among the romantic surroundings of gipsy-like camp fires and mountain caves. He is either an expert at, or keenly interested in every kind of sport and game including bull-fighting which fascinates him, perhaps because it is so thoroughly unanglo-saxon.

This "hero," or his habitual state of feeling, pervades all the books. There are other characters, to be sure, but nearly all of them appear illuminated from one side only by a beam that is first reflected from the "hero." The reader, looking along this beam, as he must if he is to see anything, perceives figures sometimes intensely illuminated, that are two-dimensional or flat, like the figures in a tapestry. They do not stand out in the clear as rounded human beings who can be examined from different sides. Let the reader not wonder what they are "really" like. If he looks for the other side he will be able to see very little. As in all tapestries the

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figures in this one tell a story. This story is the legend of the Hemingway "hero" and his chronic state of feeling.

There are exceptions of course and Robert Cohn in *The Sun Also Rises* is one of them. It may be because he was felt as an irritant, impossible to fit into the tapestry, that he appears more complete and lifelike than most. He is good at boxing and tennis, and has money. Yet he doesn't act according to the "code." He is distinct from and antagonistic to the tapestry, in fact liable to damage it a little. In other words, he beats up some of the figures in it. Sometimes, too, characters here and there seem to come alive suddenly and momentarily as in the following example taken from a Paris inventory: "The locataire across the hall whose husband was a bicycle racer and her joy that morning at the Crémierie when she had opened L'Auto and seen where he placed third in Paris-Tours, his first big race. She had blushed and laughed and then gone upstairs crying with the yellow sporting paper in her hand."

If the future scrutinizes Poe, Melville and Hawthorne for light on the authentic American psyche, will it do the same with Hemingway, which is what Mr. Cowley seems to imply? It is difficult for me not to feel that there is an important distinction, that it is doubtful whether we really get here a great deal outside of the "hero," who is perhaps—to put it crudely and inexactly—just a little too much of a Dumas character burdened with a death fixation. Hemingway may probably be regarded as an exceptional figure, highly original, stylistically capable of great limpidity and purity, with a remarkable eye for physical surroundings, capable too of representing passionate and romantic love, a narrowly powerful writer—but fundamentally a wanderer in another country.

W. W. E. Ross.

AMERICAN WRITING—1943: Edited by Alan Swallow; Ryerson (Bruce Humphries, Boston); pp. 161, \$3.00.

THREE TALES: Gustave Flaubert; translated by Arthur McDowell; Jonathan David; pp. 178; \$1.35.

THE LITERARY FALLACY: Bernard DeVoto; McClelland & Stewart; pp. 175; \$3.25.

*American Writing—1943* is an anthology the purpose of which is "to present in accessible form and to the editor's best critical ability the finest creative writing which appears during the year in the 'little' or non-commercial magazines of America." Except as carryall texts for school children or handy but circumscribed reference works, anthologies have little meaning. This particular anthology suits neither of these purposes and the purpose stated by the editor in his introduction is scarcely defensible either practically or artistically. Good writing is good writing and no matter how arbitrary the anthologist's other bases for selection may be he should at least be governed by the kind of writing and not where it appears. It is possible that the best writing, especially of an experimental nature, is found in the non-commercial magazines but this certainly cannot be proved by excluding the commercial magazines from consideration. Of the stories, *Mediators to the Goatherd* by James Hinton is a well-told account of the meeting of a goatherd, an outlaw and a couple of Axis agents in a mountainous part of Mexico. Apart from a slightly too Hemingway manliness about it all, it is convincing and exciting and at the same time literary in manner. *Cry for the Hunted* by Frederick J. Lipp is about the escape of a Russian soldier from a Finnish prisoner-of-war camp. The suspense is well done but the story, once the rather heavy prose is cleared away, is without significance. David Cornel DeJong has a character commit suicide by kicking over a number of bee hives, otherwise there is nothing to distinguish the rest of the stories. Kay Boyle and Eudora

Welty contribute some of their most tiresomely inconsequential work. The selections of poetry are much better and much more varied. Because commercial poetry simply does not exist in the same sense that commercial prose fiction does, the editor is drawing on substantially the same sources for his anthology as he would without his non-commercial restriction. Witter Bynner, Horace Gregory, Kenneth Patchen, Karl Shapiro, Wallace Stevens, Yvor Winters, Robert Penn Warren and many others are represented in this section. Most of it is interesting, some of it is good, but on the whole the contributions do more to remind you of the better work of these poets than to satisfy in themselves.

Arthur McDowell's translation of Flaubert's *Trois Contes* is an exceptionally noteworthy addition to New Directions' New Classics series. These three tales were new to me, although I had seen many references to *A Simple Heart* in literary essays. Each story is a model of precise composition and Flaubert's peculiar genius in selecting the descriptive detail is impressively demonstrated. It is hard to recall anything of its kind as good as *A Simple Heart*. Certainly no other fable has equalled in its retelling the exquisite quality of *The Legend of St. Julian the Hospitaller*. Harry Levin has written a calm and scholarly essay as an introduction to this edition.

*The Literary Fallacy* by Bernard DeVoto is both a wearying and a maddening book. No really competent revaluation of the work of American writers in the 'twenties has yet been done but the demand for it is just about ripe and presumably Mr. DeVoto has tried cannily to beat the gun. A critic can survey the 'twenties and decide that the writing of that decade was more careless, less thoughtful, than he had felt it to be on first reading. These writers were rebelling against the almost oppressively rich and involuted style and content of the fin de siècle novelists and as rebels they had little leisure for care and contemplation. Beyond stating this, which is surely by now almost a truism, the critic must estimate these writers in relation to their times, their background, their hopes and fears for the world they would be living and writing in. To scold and vilify them because twenty years ago they were not kicking themselves as Van Wyck Brooks and Archibald MacLeish are doing now is just a vulgar attempt on Mr. DeVoto's part to cash in on the pollyanna I-am-an-American revival. With neither sympathy for nor understanding of the aims of these writers Mr. DeVoto tosses the greater number of them into a sort of death-cult category because their characters do not always defeat Apollyon, or perhaps because they do not agree with him as to who Apollyon is. How could, says Mr. DeVoto in one way or another, good American writers find inspiration in Sacco and Vanzetti when at the same time great U.S. scientists were discovering new and better ways to treat burns. This scale of values in application convinces him, therefore, that Hitler got his idea of the decadence of the American people from Hemingway, Dos Passos, Eliot and the rest. This conclusion is so cheap and foolish that one is tempted to explore Hitler's reactions had he realized he was tackling a nation of DeVotos.

Eleanor Godfrey.

V-LETTER AND OTHER POEMS: Karl Shapiro; McClelland & Stewart (Reynal & Hitchcock); pp. 63; \$2.50.

This is the second volume of one of the best contemporary poets, now on active service in the South Pacific, where most of the poems in it were written. Probably few of those who have followed his work will consider it the equal of the earlier book, *Person, Place and Thing*; but the poems are attractive, if seldom deeply moving, and, though some are trivial, the book as a whole is a pleasure to read. As he says,

he is not a "war" poet: he is simply a poet who happens to be in the army, and because he is a poet patterns go on forming and metres go on clicking in his mind, regardless of what else is happening. Sometimes, of course, the war enters the poetry—most poignantly, perhaps, in the poem on the amputation—but on the whole Mr. Shapiro makes no attempt to "interpret" the war to us by composing metrical editorials.

Mr. Shapiro has a rhythmic smoothness of a kind that needs regular metre and rhyme: he seems especially partial to sonnets. His poetry is the expression of an alert, agile, and intelligent mind, tolerant and in the best sense of the word refined. He has no verbal magic, no volcanic reserves of emotional power, and no gnarled intellectualism. A hostile critic could call him superficial, but it would be fairer to say that he gives one the surface attractiveness of poetry: the ripples, the flecks of sunlight and the spray. If, as he says, he tries to write like a Christian one day and like a Jew the next, it is clear that there are depths in both Christianity and Judaism that he will not express. But that is not his business: his business is with a precision of statement and an accurately modulating wit which can give to an image a clear and sharp poetic outline:

He talks to overhear, she to withdraw  
To some interior feminine fireside  
Where the back arches, beauty puts forth a paw  
Like a black puma stretching in velvet pride,  
Making him think of cats, a stray of which  
Some days sets up a howling in his brain,  
Pure interference such as this neat bitch  
Seems to create from listening disdain.

N. F.

TRAGIC GROUND: Erskine Caldwell; Collins (Duell, Sloane and Pearce); pp. 237; \$2.75.

It would be interesting to know how many of the thousands of theatre-goers who saw *Tobacco Road* were seriously affected by it, or how many people who didn't see it knew anything more about it than that it ran for seven or eight years. And yet it was a social document of some significance. *Tragic Ground* is another. It, too, is an indictment of a society which, while making some show of developing natural resources, has left the development of human resources almost entirely to chance.

We got used to hearing about derelict towns, derelict houses, derelict human beings during the thirties. Then came the war—and prosperity. Talk of slums and unemployment changed to talk of housing and manpower shortages. One would have thought that having heard so much about prosperity being just around the corner we'd have been better prepared to face it—better equipped to prevent the disease of unemployment from once more breaking out.

*Tragic Ground* is a warning to all of us who are being swept along in the war boom. It is a reminder that for some people that boom has ended. It is a book about that kind of people. Poor whites, if you like. The kind who, before the war belonged to the third of the nation which was "ill-fed, ill-clothed and ill-housed," and, worse than that, ill-equipped both mentally and physically to care. Such were the Douthits, in this, Caldwell's latest book.

Spence Douthit put a lot of the blame for his present predicament on the men who had scouted about the country looking for war workers; handing out whiskey to the men and dangling black lace drawers before the womenfolk. If it hadn't been for this final powerful inducement he and others like him would never have left Beaseley County to work in a powder plant. He got sixty-two fifty a week for

sitting on a stool and pouring stuff "that smelled like rotten eggs and looked like sulphur and molasses" into a bottle every fifteen minutes. When the plant closed down after two years, he and several hundred others were left holding the bag. Like most of them he drifted out to the local squatters ground to live. Poor Boy Town, they called the neighbourhood—a collection of shacks put up by derelict human beings. Some of them had enough "enterprise" to sift garbage from the local dump and sell the bits of broken glass to junk dealers. Others peddled marijuana. Most of the girls peddled their bodies in the more prosperous sections of the city. Mavis Douthit (age 13) was one of these. The social worker who was sent to investigate her case and deal with the parents didn't make much headway with Spence when she tried to explain that she was there to help his family "adjust itself to the complex pattern of modern life." As for Mrs. Douthit, her advice to Miss Saunders who persisted in trying to perform her duties was to "start performing that slinky behind down the street." Miss Saunders won in the end, however. That is, she got the Douthits out of Poor Boy and back to Beaseley County. But Poor Boy stayed. Nobody tried to get rid of it.

It's a little hard on the social workers, of course; but the contrast between conditions on the one hand, and the methods used to combat them is no by means exaggerated. If all this gives the impression that this novel is grim and vehement, it is only because that is the mood it evokes. It is unemotional, unsentimental and full of humor. Yet it could not have been written without anger and contempt. No serious reader could fail to note its implications. The blurb on the jacket refers to it as "the kind of novel which . . . has left its indelible impression on American letters." Will it help to remove the indelible impression left on our people by the conditions that inspired it?

M. I. Thompson.

THE PHOENIX AND THE TORTOISE: Kenneth Rexroth; New Directions; pp. 100; \$2.50 (U.S.A.).

This collection consists of the long title poem, a group of shorter poems, and another group of imitations and paraphrases, chiefly of Late Classical epigram-writers. Mr. Rexroth prefers a short accentual free verse line, and in his vocabulary makes constant and at times excessive use of technical and abstract terms. The writing, in spite of occasional Eliot and Lawrence cadences, is admirably clear and intelligent, sounding perhaps a good deal more like *The Testament of Beauty* than the poet intended it to do. He is seldom obscure and even more seldom without something interesting to say, and his poetry makes, on its surface level, thoroughly enjoyable reading. His competence and assurance suggest that he has already found a style which he will not be likely to transcend in future; but all that that means is that his present volume shows achievement rather than promise.

The fact that Mr. Rexroth is much better than average, whatever the average may be, is partly due to his Classical scholarship. An educational system that attempts to promote the writing and study of English and at the same time minimizes, when it does not actually discourage, the learning of Latin and Greek, is, for all serious literary purposes, about as efficient as a dentist who extracts a molar and leaves both roots still sticking in the jaw; and, however inevitable the trend away from the Classics may be, it remains true that an English literature which is not solidly established on Classical (and Biblical) education will never get far above high-class journalism. The reason for this is that literature, in contrast to science, is dependent on a personal authority; on the fact that a great writer is a model

of good writing to be imitated by all beginners yesterday, today, and forever; and that it takes centuries for any writer to establish so unqualified an ascendancy. A new writer can get no authority into his own writing until he is sufficiently steeped in this personal tradition; and writing that has no authority has no unity, because it lacks the assured technique, the emotional balance and the accuracy of vision which unified art must have. America today is full of excellent writers bursting with a creative energy which could become genius if it were disciplined: lacking discipline, it becomes a spluttering burble. Mr. Rexroth is perhaps not a genius, whatever that is, but he is a cultivated writer with a sense of authority, which nowadays is often a much better thing to be than a genius.

Mr. Rexroth has studied especially the Hellenistic and Byzantine periods: he has evidently been influenced by Spengler's cyclic conception of history, and is primarily interested in the historical parallels between late Roman times and our own. The title poem is based on the same idea. The escape from this wheel of time, according to the poet, is up a kind of Platonic ladder of love; in a sexuality which is disciplined by the sacramental unity of marriage and develops into a sense of kinship with humanity. As a vision of human life is a fundamentally tragic one, this sense of kinship implies a contrasting divine comedy. Mr. Rexroth is, it is clear, a deeply religious poet, hampered by a curious prudery from saying exactly what he means and feels about religion. His work also shows that poets today are reaching out for some integration of twentieth-century ideas, among which the Spenglerian view of history, the theories of unconscious symbolism in psychology and anthropology, and the Nietzsche-Lawrence conception of the limitations of reason, are especially prominent. Mr. Rexroth's development will probably be along the lines of clarifying and digesting this integration. I say digesting, because at present he is still capable of emitting hunks of raw erudition like "Scotus—Luther—Kierkegaard—Barth—," or again:

Marx. Kropotkin. Adams. Acton.  
Spengler. Toynbee.

But nevertheless he shows that contemporary poets are working out a unification of twentieth-century thought which will have profound effects on post-war life when it begins to filter from the arts into the sciences, and from the sciences into, for example, the front pages of *The Canadian Forum*.

N.F.

LAST POEMS OF ANNA HEMPSTEAD BRANCH: edited and with a foreword by Ridgely Torrence; Oxford (Farrar & Rinehart); pp. 71; \$2.50.

FLIGHT INTO DARKNESS: Ralph Gustafson; Jonathan David Company (Pantheon); pp. 95; \$2.50.

Anna Hempstead Branch, descendant of an old Connecticut family, died in 1937. These last poems of hers include some of her last written lines, as well as a few previously unpublished poems of about 1905. Though fragmentary, it is all work of a fine quality.

Her later poems have the achievement of beauty and release of the imprisoned spirit through pain and sacrifice as a recurrent theme. For this she, to some extent, turned inward.

I can go into a place  
Far within my mind  
Where I perceive a deeper grace  
Than on earth I find.

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Some of her reveries suggest the racial-memory musings of the Irish poet, A. E. Her desire to be understood, however, has impelled her to write with great clarity. Her diction has almost a childlike simplicity. Then, too, she has understood the importance of mood, the communication of meaning by the creation of a state of feeling. Her mind was unusually keen in its perceptions and her poems have the lithe, rapid movement of a dancer who is graceful without any sense of strain. Dancing and a love of dancing appear frequently throughout her work.

I made my dance of the moon,  
Of its fierce and lovely light,  
And I made it of women and men  
And children, and all things bright.

Several of her poems are classical in their form and references. When she speaks of Amphion and Demeter it is with ease and inevitability. In the blind flow of existence poetry like this, with its conflict of discipline and vitality, marks an expressive certainty, a fine realization of self. Although these fragmentary lyrics are compact and individual one feels that for Anna Hempstead Branch the poem was not an end in itself but the incidental accompaniment of wide intellectual horizons and unique subjective experiences.

*Flight into Darkness* is quite an impressive collection of the work of Ralph Gustafson. Most of these poems have fear as their dominant emotion, a fear that is not always defined but which is obviously the poet's reaction to a violently disturbing period of history. An agonized consciousness of war, of the dislocation of customary life by machinery and of the passage of time is evident in his imagery, which is brilliant and wide-ranging, and in the tense quality of many of his stanzas with their short lines, suggesting great pressure and deliberate involvement. Occasionally he becomes superficially imitative. Miltonic and Shakespearian influences are sometimes embarrassingly apparent.

What time the wily robin tuggeth worm

hardly belongs to the twentieth century. Occasionally, also, he resorts to parody and is merely witty. But in general this phase of his work, apart from some self-conscious posing and display of erudition, is tinged with sufficient irony to give it a pleasantly acrid quality. When he is more care-free spiritually he is capable of sweetness and soft lyricism, as in "City Night" or "Thaw," where his special ability for condensation is used to good effect. His *Lyrics Unromantic*, which are reviewed in the *Canadian Forum* of December, 1942, makes up a section of the present volume.

Mr. Gustafson, in spite of much that is wordy and derivative, has revealed poetic powers that are quite exceptional.

Alan Creighton.

THE WINDS OF FEAR: Hodding Carter; Oxford (Farrar & Rinehart); pp. 278; \$3.00.

"What I tell you three times is true," said the Snark Hunter. So, after reading the fourth of the recent penetrating books to deal with the race problem in the United States, the problem begins to take menacing form, even in the minds of aloof northerners. The cumulative punishment of the sins of the old slave importers as visited on their children's children is so disproportionately large as to give thought to those who question Biblical authority.

Hodding Carter's *Winds of Fear*, however, presents a slightly more hopeful view than Fast's *Freedom Road*. He

is a young southerner, educated in the north, and this is his first novel. He is a realist. He sobs no nostalgia for the deep south, and his unbiased presentation of both passionate sides to this troubled community has an authentic ring. At times he shows a youthful exuberance in making one's flesh creep with photographic details of brutality.

Carvel City swept, as all the world, by the fears of war has always its own smouldering fear of the Negroes of Kirby's Quarters in its midst. This is fanned into flame when a "Ginger" Negro from the north, resisting arrest while drunk, murders the lenient marshal. Driven by race fear, the reactionary town leaders appoint in his place a low-type "Backwater White," Cancy Dodd, a known Negro hater, stupid and corrupt. To oppose this group are the liberal editor of the local paper, his son, newly returned from the front where he had lost an arm, and a small group of the tolerant members of both races.

These tread a troubled maze; now calming the Negro doctor who took northern papers and sneered at "White men's Negroes" who will not fight for their rights; and now reasoning with whites who "blamed That Woman for stirring up the Negroes. Old Clovis, the busiest talker of all, kept predicting that a race war would blaze all over the South in a few months. Many believed him, some with relish, others in fear, and a few in sorrow."

The corruption of Cancy Dodd moved inexorably to tragedy, but the final step of burning out the "Quarters" is prevented, and a note of sanity injected by the young soldier who, for his one big moment, braves the ugly crowd. On his tired way home, hope came faintly back.

"Hate—hate and protective fear had guided most of the assembly of white men tonight . . . but the first opposition to the mob embryo had been his own. At least he had confronted the Thing, and the Thing had been for the moment beaten. If you stood against the Thing, people would eventually listen."

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CARL EAYRS

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THE RCAF OVERSEAS, THE FIRST FOUR YEARS:  
Introduction by Hon. C. G. Power; Oxford; pp. 376;  
\$3.00.

This book is a factual account of the operations of the RCAF in all theatres of the war. The writers were attached to the RCAF and evidently had full access to intelligence and operational records. Detailed accounts are given of the activities of the Canadian squadrons connected with the RAF Fighter Command in the early days of the war, including the time of the epic "Battle of Britain." The account of the individual exploits of those Canadian fighter pilots who helped defeat the Luftwaffe in the skies above the towns and cities of the British Isles makes thrilling reading.

The less spectacular outline of the operations of Bomber Command indicates the rapid rise of allied air power dating from the time of the first 1000 plane raid on Cologne to the subsequent mighty assaults on German industry and communications. The reports of the RCAF squadrons in Bomber Command constitute a magnificent record of Canadian heroism and the great part played by aircraft in this war. The RCAF bomber crews took off on nightly assignments, which were often long distances over enemy territory, and the reports of the fight with enemy flak and night fighters, in order to reach the target, is a tribute to the courage of Canadian airmen.

Coastal Command activity is a record of the struggle for control of the sea lanes, with the part played by aircraft in the defeat of the U-boat. The RCAF squadrons attached to Coastal Command were engaged in the protection of shipping, with long, monotonous patrols, often battling stormy weather, and the writers give a good account of one of the less exciting, but important, branches of the Air Force. It is unfortunate that a book which deals with the RCAF Overseas should have neglected the tremendous contribution by those thousands of trained and efficient ground crew whose untiring work and skill kept the aircraft flying.

Because of the standardized form and language of the reports, the book, to the general public, will seem to have a great deal of repetition. But the many photographs used and the references to squadrons and personnel, will make it of undoubted interest to all RCAF members.

W. H. Temple.

NATURALISM AND THE HUMAN SPIRIT: edited by Yervant H. Krikorian; Columbia University Press; pp. 397; \$4.50 (U.S.A.).

Bertrand Russell in *The Library of Living Philosophers*, V. 5, refers to his book which "in England, is called *Education*, but in America, to please a conjectured moralistic public, was re-christened by the publisher *Education and the Good Life*." One suspects that the Columbia University Press continues to conjecture a moralistic public and adds for the sales value "and the Human Spirit" to a title which without adornment would delimit an area of philosophical thought sufficiently important in its own right. This volume of essays is a timely contribution made by the apostles of common sense and believers in the innate potentialities of human life to a symposium of vocal opinion which from day to day becomes more and more like a bear garden of irrationalities. Religion, political theory, ethics, aesthetics, history, sociology, logic and mind as interpreted in a naturalistic philosophy are presented in essays by outstanding contemporary teachers. In addition, a number of interpretations of the point of view of naturalism itself complete a volume of distinction and interest. The introductory statement is made by John Dewey. Unlike much of Dewey's earlier writing, this essay is crystal clear and avoids the

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## OUR SETTLEMENT WITH GERMANY

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What shall we do about reparations, frontiers, migrants and refugees, disarmament, re-education? How shall we break through the crust of nationalisms without coming to a spurious core of supernationalism? Plain, grave replies are offered in this timely urgent book. *Map and index*.

garrulous, a remarkable achievement for a man who must now have passed the middle eighties.

In general these essays represent a determination to remain within the limits of the known, limits which still permit an interpretation of nature and man's place in it as an exalted one. Indeed, as each essay implies, this strict circumscription permits an optimistic interpretation which the alternatives of supernationalism either of a frankly religious sort or of the philosophic rationalist, intuitionist or idealist sort with their restriction of man's nature to the base and degrading, the corruption of the body, the lust of the flesh, the basely material and the blindly mechanical, exclude. Man here is placed "squarely in the midst of nature," but such status need not be identified as its enemies take pleasure in doing with materialism. According to Dewey "our enemies" identify naturalism with materialism "and then employ the identification to charge naturalists with reduction of all distinctively human values, moral, aesthetic, logical, to blind mechanical conjunction of material entities." The writers protest the identification and maintain the efficacy of the scientific method and the common sense temper to explore and organize all the values of human life, individual and social, without the "illegitimate abstraction" of spirit from matter.

While the essays represent agreement in general there are interesting divisions of opinion on current philosophical issues. The older writers venture into metaphysical speculation about the nature of nature and especially the non-supernatural nature of nature, while the younger writers prefer to remain within the fashionable positivistic circle of linguistic analysis or to elucidate once again the current pragmatic interpretation of logic as inquiry without ontology, and scientific procedure as operational technique. All agree whether implicitly or explicitly that meaning is verifiability and knowledge is of the verifiable. The book is an incisive attack upon much respectable contemporary political and social theory, and certain powerful trends in theology and in academic philosophy.

J. M.

A CENTURY OF HERO WORSHIP: Erick Russell  
Bentley; Longmans, Green & Co. (J. P. Lippincott  
Co.); pp. 307; \$4.50.

The game of finding forefathers for fascist thought is an easy one to play, and pedigrees have been constructed that reach from Plato to D. H. Lawrence. Mr. Russell avoids the question-begging paths of propagandist writing and tries to set the subject on a broader basis. Why is it, he asks, that during the last century so many gifted men of letters have rejected democracy and upheld a cult of hero-worship? Defining the common elements of this nature that run through the work of such men as Carlyle, Nietzsche, Wagner, Lawrence, Bernard Shaw and Stefan George, as "heroic vitalism," he combs biographical material for clues to its significance. First comes the psycho-analytic approach, showing how each man was in some way or other predisposed to a brooding over masculinity, and consequently to the affirmation of pagan values. From this point the more difficult search for decisive intellectual influences is carried on with a wide-ranging enthusiasm and assurance. The attempt to cram complete case-studies of so many eccentric individuals within such small covers was indeed a heroic enterprise. The book is bursting with ideas and arguments that cry out for fuller development and support. For example, although the deficiencies of Carlyle's scholarship and his indifference to metaphysics are fairly enough stressed in order to heighten the intense "personalism," the fascination with individual man, that characterized his mind, the originality of his philosophy of history is in consequence exaggerated.

It differs from Hegel's only in the lack of any theory of the state. The too brief notes on Spengler convey the same misleading impression that belief in evolution has been at odds with idealist philosophy.

General conclusions seeking to interpret the social and political significance of the men studied are scattered through the book and pulled together loosely at the end in the thesis that there is no real conflict between democracy and admiration of the superior individual. Intellectuals have tended to go to extremes out of a sense of being adrift in society and unimportant, from the need of anchorage that could be supplied only by reactionary or revolutionary faiths. Nineteenth century classical education insulated people from realistic knowledge of the world in which they were living. The heroic vitalists, nevertheless, have helped to enrich that faith in the powers of the individual on which democracy must stand. All this is constructively pointed, and one hopes that Mr. Russell will push his studies in the history of intellectuals further, preferably against a more concrete background of social and political thought and institutional change.

*Sylvia L. Thrupp.*

**THE COMMUNITIES OF TOLSTOYANS:** Henri Lasserre (translated from the French by Purcell Weaver); Rural Cooperative Community Council and Canadian Fellowship for Co-operative Community; pp. 32; 25c (paper).

Marxism produced Lenin, the Socialist-Revolutionary party and finally the Bolshevik Revolution. The Tolstoyan communities of Russia appeared at precisely the same time, and are the precursors of the contemporary community movement. Both were born at the death of the nihilist movement. On the basis of the Marxist dialectic, writes Professor Lasserre, the materialistic emphasis of the one may yet synthesize with the altruistic attitude and practice of the other.

The booklet gives an excellent review of the Russian community movement which grew up around the name and spirit of Tolstoy (though open to his steady criticism), and their spread to England and various European countries as well as Paraguay, the U.S.A. and to Canada "where a 'Canadian Fellowship for Co-operative Community' has recently been established (1943)" with headquarters at 237 Bloor St. West, Toronto.

It is likely that knowledge is limited concerning these still strictly pioneering groups of practising Christian-communists. They seem usually to preach non-violence, and non-cooperation with the state; and are mostly out of sympathy with the Christian Church. They are represented here as having interesting similarities to the Doukhobor and Hutterian communities. Professor Lasserre has had close association with some of these groups, and is presumably largely responsible for the movement's existence and growth in Canada. It is enlightening to learn from him of their spiritual parallelism to other co-operative movements in a world trying to escape the curse of exploitation and greed.

*John F. Davidson.*

**CANADA AND THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE:** compiled by Julia E. Johnsen; H. W. Wilson; (The Reference Shelf, Vol. 17, No. 3); pp. 295; \$1.25 (U.S.A.)

Here is a very useful collection of extracts from Canadian writing, put together for the purpose of giving a view of contemporary Canada. The first section, 60 pages, has articles of a general character, the second deals with Canada and the western hemisphere and the third with the economic aspects of these relationships. There is a useful bibliography of over 20 printed pages. Among typical authors and articles are Elizabeth Armstrong (*Quebec's Influence on Canadian Defense Policy*), Frank H. Underhill (*The British Common-*

*wealth and the Price of Peace*), Grant Dexter (*The Commonwealth*), George Drew (*A Canadian View of Pan-Americanism*) and N. A. Mackenzie (*American Contributions to International Law*). Other well-known Canadians represented are the Prime Minister, Frank Scott, J. B. Brebner, R. G. Trotter, George Ferguson, P. E. Corbett, Bruce Hutchison, R. A. McEachern. So far as the writer knows this is the first and only compilation of the sort. He has often thought that the prose turned out in the last 20 years by our academics and journalists deserved an anthology: this book is not an anthology exactly but it is to be noted it was left for an American source to do it.

*A. R. M. Lower.*

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